

RITUAL AND REMEMBRANCE:
THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND NATIONAL SERVICES OF
THANKSGIVING AND REMEMBRANCE AFTER FOUR WARS
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

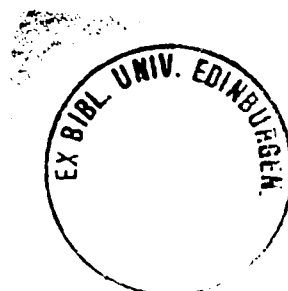
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ABSTRACT

Over recent years scholars have become increasingly interested in the nature and development of the rituals of remembrance after war. Little research, however, has been conducted into these matters in relation to Scotland, and the Church of Scotland in particular, and this thesis attempts to fill this gap.

During the course of the twentieth century the people of Scotland have on many occasions been united in a bond of bereavement after war as they grieved for their dead and sought to come to terms with their losses. The principal objective of this thesis is to assess the extent to which the national services of thanksgiving and remembrance after four major wars – the First World War, the Second World War, the Falklands War and the Gulf War – served to meet the needs of the Scottish people.

In order to achieve this each of the four national services have been examined in turn, focusing firstly on the ritual context, then the ritual act and finally the functions of the ritual. In this way it is hoped that the extent to which the services were able to give comfort to the bereaved will be illustrated, and that some insights will also be given into the development of remembrance rituals in Scotland during the twentieth century.

Research has shown that in the services after the First and Second World Wars the political function of the ritual was dominant, but that in the services after the Falkland and Gulf Wars the pastoral function was prevalent. In this sense it can be argued that the national services have increasingly come to meet the needs of the Scottish people.

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby declare that this thesis, and the research recorded in it, is the work of the author.

Fiona C. Douglas

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To my Mother and Father,
with love and thanks

1. INTRODUCTION

The ritual of remembrance after war is today an important part of our national life and culture. The annual Remembrance Sunday is a national institution and a potent reminder of the grievous losses that this nation has suffered as a result of wars in the twentieth century, as well as being one of the most sensitive religious services conducted by ministers in the Christian year. Over recent years, we have been given new insights into the nature and development of remembrance rituals after war by such writers as Adrian Gregory, Jay Winter, David Cannadine, Owen Chadwick, Alan Wilkinson, Robert Boccock and Andrew Jones.¹ Little research, however, has been conducted into these matters in relation to Scotland, and the Church of Scotland in particular, and this thesis attempts to fill this gap.

During the course of the twentieth century the people of Scotland have on many occasions been united in a bond of bereavement after war as they grieved for their dead and sought to come to terms with their losses. The principal

¹Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory. Armistice Day 1919-1946* (Oxford: Berg, 1994); Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning. The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain,' in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed. Joachim Whaley (London: Europa, 1981); Owen Chadwick, 'Armistice Day,' *Theology* 77 (1976); Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: SPCK, 1978); Robert Boccock, *Ritual in Industrial Society: A Sociological Analysis of Ritualism in Modern England* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1974); Andrew K. Jones, *Remembrance Sunday* (Nottingham: Grove Books, 1987).

objective of this thesis is to assess the extent to which the national services of thanksgiving and remembrance after four major wars – the First World War, the Second World War, the Falklands War and the Gulf War – served to meet the needs of the Scottish people.

In order to achieve this each of the four national services will be examined in turn, focusing firstly on the ritual context, then the ritual act and finally the functions of the ritual. In this way it is hoped that the extent to which the services were able to give comfort to the bereaved will be illustrated, and that some insights will also be given into the development of remembrance rituals in Scotland during the twentieth century.

However, in order to understand the extent to which the national services were able to sustain the Scottish people, it is first necessary to say something about the theoretical background to the study of these rituals.

2. A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Most people daily pass by at least one war memorial. They are to be found in every town and almost every village in the country; in great cities such as Edinburgh and London they exist in profusion. After the First World War these memorials served various purposes and their meaning would change for different people in subsequent decades. In her research for the Imperial War Museum, Catherine Moriarty states that at the time of the unveiling of these memorials their primary function was one of consolation of the bereaved. 'As an aid to coping with grief,' she writes, 'they were intended to record neither the actualities of war nor the experience of it. They are, rather, visual documents of how the bereaved came to terms with and bestowed meaning on the war'.¹

After each of the four wars that are featured in this thesis – the First World War, the Second World War, the Falklands War and the Gulf War – this need for consolation also manifested itself in a national service of thanksgiving and remembrance. In order to understand the extent to which these services met the needs of the Scottish people, it is necessary to establish a theoretical framework which can be used to examine these rituals and it to this matter that this chapter is addressed.

¹Catherine Moriarty, 'Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials,' *Imperial War Museum Review* 6 (1991), p. 63.

1. The Ritual Context

In order to help establish the extent to which the national services served the needs of the Scottish people, each chapter will begin with an outline of the ritual context. Although there are some commentators, such as Bryan Wilson, who have argued that rituals have declined in importance in modern, industrial society,² most observers, notably David Martin, Robert Boccock, Eric Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger and Milton Singer, stress that people continue to participate in many rituals and indeed 'invent' them.³ There are many different definitions of ritual, ranging from J. G. Davies's view that ritual refers to the prescribed form of words which constitute an act of worship,⁴ to Edmund Leach's view that ritual can be seen as all culturally defined sets of behaviour.⁵

²B. R. Wilson, *Religion in a Secular Society* (London: C. A. Watts, 1966), pp. 221-233.

³David Martin, *The Religious and the Secular* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 114-136; Robert Boccock, *Ritual in Industrial Society: A Sociological Analysis of Ritualism in Modern England* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1974), pp. 35-38; Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1-14; Milton Singer, *When a Great Tradition Modernizes: An Anthropological Approach to Indian Civilization* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1992), pp. 156-158, 186-189, 329-331.

⁴J. G. Davies, 'Ritual,' in *A New Dictionary of Liturgy & Worship* ed. J. G. Davies (London: SCM Press, 1986), p. 469.

⁵E. Leach, 'Ritual,' in *The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, vols. 13-14, ed. David L. Sills (London: MacMillan, 1972), p. 524.

For the purposes of this thesis, Margaret Mary Kelleher's understanding of ritual as a symbolic process which has the potential to communicate, create and transform meaning is useful and places the national services of thanksgiving and remembrance firmly within a ritualistic framework.⁶

The ritual context section of each chapter will include a discussion of the life of the nation and the Church between the wars under examination (except in the first chapter for obvious reasons); an analysis of the life of the nation and the Church during each war; an assessment of the aftermath of each war and its impact on the community and on the individual; and a commentary on the response of the Church and the nation in the aftermath of the war. Not only is a discussion of these issues vital to an understanding of the bond of bereavement that united the Scottish people after each of the wars in question, but it is also important in analysing the functions of the ritual and the extent to which they met the needs of the Scottish people. As David Cannadine explains, no analysis restricted to the text, which ignores the description of context, can hope to offer an 'historically convincing explanation' of the meaning of ritual in modern Britain:

⁶Margaret Mary Kelleher, 'Ritual,' in *The New Dictionary of Theology*, eds. Joseph A. Komonachak, Mary Collins and Dermont A. Lane (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1987), pp. 906-907.

With ceremonial, as with political theory, the very act of locating the occasion or the text in its appropriate context is not merely to provide the historical background, but actually to begin the process of interpretation.⁷

2) The Ritual Act

In order to help establish the extent to which the national services of thanksgiving and remembrance met the needs of the Scottish people, each chapter will also consider the ritual act. The national services were first and foremost public acts of worship. In the view of such commentators as Evelyn Underhill, J. R. Wilkes and Paul Connerton, the remembering of past events is important to the concept of worship and nowhere is this more important than in the Judaeo-Christian tradition with its observance of such events as Passover, the Day of Atonement, Easter and the Lord's Supper.⁸ The national services of thanksgiving and remembrance differed, however, from other acts of public worship in much of their liturgical form and content.

The ritual act section of each chapter will thus provide some idea of the immediate circumstances of the service

⁷David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the "Invention of Tradition", c. 1820-1977,' in *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 105.

⁸Evelyn Underhill, *Worship* (Plymouth: The Mayflower Press, 1937), p. 21; J. R. Wilkes, 'Remembering,' *Theology* 84 (1981), p. 88; Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 44-48.

in question (and in the case of the Falklands and Gulf Wars some insights into the detailed planning of the ritual) as well as a detailed description of the service. Not only will a discussion of these issues provide some further insights into the context of the service, but it is also important in assessing the functions of the ritual and the extent to which the service met the needs of the Scottish people. As Ronald Grimes observes, the provision of an adequate text to analyse is vital to the understanding of ritual:

If we are to understand a ritual adequately, the first prerequisite is as full a description as possible in the form of a monograph or film....Some rituals are long, complex, and lacking in commentary from participants. But if we are to treat rituals as seriously as we have ethics and theologies we must work with full, evocative descriptions, not mere summaries of the values and beliefs implicit in them.⁹

3. The Ritual Functions

In order to establish the degree to which the national services of thanksgiving and remembrance served the needs of the Scottish people, each chapter will also include an assessment of the ritual functions.

(A) The Political Function

The ritual functions section will begin with an

⁹Ronald L. Grimes, *Beginnings in Ritual Studies* (New York: University Press of America, 1982), p. 20.

assessment of the extent to which the national services fulfilled a political function; namely the degree to which they performed a functionalist role in maintaining the dominant values of society, or performed an interactionist role in challenging them.

(i) A functionalist analysis

The functionalist view sees ritual as maintaining the dominant values of society. Several theorists have illustrated this. Firstly, Emile Durkheim suggested that ritual could be divided into the 'sacred' and the 'profane', by which he meant that the purpose of religion could be interpreted as worship of society as well as God.¹⁰ This was built on by Clifford Geertz who sees ritual as not only about the worship of God but also about endorsing the idea that the social order is God-given and therefore unassailable.¹¹ The work of Robert Bocock adds to these ideas in his suggestion that ritual contains both 'civic' and 'religious' elements and that in the 'civic' element the group, rather than God, is the major object of concern.¹²

¹⁰Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1947), p. 47.

¹¹Michael Banton, *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London: Methuen, 1968), p. 3.

¹²Robert Bocock, *Ritual in Industrial Society. A Sociological Analysis of Ritualism in Modern England* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1974), p. 60.

Insights into the functionalist aspect of ritual can also be found in the work of W. Lloyd Warner on American Memorial Day.¹³ This ritual, which has its origins in the American Civil War, includes the laying of wreaths to honour the dead, emphasises the sacrifice of the fallen soldiers and the debt of the living, and the idea that their deaths were martyrs' deaths which therefore associates them with the saints. According to Warner, this has a persuasive political purpose. 'The deaths of such men,' he writes, 'become powerful sacred symbols which organize, direct and constantly revive the collective ideals of the community and the nation.'¹⁴

Further insights into the functionalist aspect of ritual can be derived from Robert Bellah's work on American civil religion. Civil religion refers to a collection of rituals, such as Memorial Day, Thanksgiving Day and Veterans' Day, which include a religious dimension. According to Bellah, these serve an important political role through using Old Testament references, such as the Exodus and the Chosen People, to evoke the idea of America being the chosen nation, as well as

¹³W. Lloyd Warner, *Structure of American Life* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1952), pp. 207-236; W. Lloyd Warner, *The Living and the Dead* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), pp. 248-280.

¹⁴Warner, *Structure of American Life*, p. 215.

celebrating the 'American Way of Life'.¹⁵ Here we see an application of Max Thurian's idea of 'anamnesis', in which a past religious event is made a present reality,¹⁶ as well as a crude appeal to nationalism.

Indeed, we can use Bellah's work to illustrate the idea of how ritual can be used for nationalistic purposes in Britain, as Robert Bocock has suggested.¹⁷ Certainly, nationalism can be utilised in a relatively benign way. On the one hand, there is what might be termed 'positive' nationalism: a sense of national belonging or a constructive national role in international affairs. Studies have shown, for instance, that national identity is positively valued in Scripture, and is also acknowledged as a health-giving dimension to our communal existence.¹⁸ On the other hand, however, there is what Bellah might recognise as 'negative' nationalism: a narrow understanding of love for one's country which may

¹⁵Robert N. Bellah, 'Civil Religion in America,' in *The World Year Book of Religion. The Religious Situation*, vol. 1, ed. Donald R. Cutler (London: Evans Brothers, 1969), pp. 331-354.

¹⁶see Max Thurian, *The Eucharistic Memorial. Part 1. The Old Testament* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1960); Ibid., *The Eucharistic Memorial. Part 2. The New Testament* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961); Faith and Order Commission, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, Faith and Order Paper, no. 111, (Geneva: WCC, 1982), E6.

¹⁷Robert Bocock, 'Religion in Modern Britain,' in *Religion and Ideology*, eds. Robert Bocock and Kenneth Thompson (Manchester: The Open University Press, 1985), pp. 219-220.

¹⁸O. R. Johnston, *Nationhood: Towards a Christian Perspective* (Oxford: Latimer House, 1980), pp. 15-21; Enda McDonagh, *Gift and Call* (Dublin: Gill and MacMillan, 1975), pp. 135-137.

lead to a claim of natural superiority over others and to the mindless support of one's nation, for right or wrong. This is perhaps the most strident political aspect of ritual.

Thus the thesis will seek to assess the extent to which the national services of thanksgiving and remembrance sought to maintain the dominant values of society.

(ii) An interactionist analysis

The interactionist view sees ritual as challenging dominant values. Again, several theorists have illustrated this. Firstly, David Kertzer has argued that alongside the view that ritual serves to legitimise the dominant values in society, ritual can also serve as the life blood of revolution by unifying a diversity of meanings or providing new levels of meaning.¹⁹ Tom Driver adds to this with his view that ritual has unseen powers which can provide a 'pathway' to a new kind of life and a new order of being.²⁰ Kieran Flanagan suggests that ritual can provide a mysterious transcendent quality which cannot be understood merely through sociology.²¹

¹⁹David I. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 2, 11.

²⁰Tom F. Driver, *The Magic of Ritual: Our Need for Liberating Rites that Transform Our Lives and Our Communities* (San Francisco: Harper, 1991), p. 33.

²¹Kieran Flanagan, *Sociology and Liturgy. Re-presentations of the Holy* (London: MacMillan, , 1991), p. 6.

Moreover, Duncan Forrester, Ian McDonald and Gian Tellini, discuss the way in which ritual can serve a political purpose through the transforming power of public worship:

worship does not sanctify things as they are. It is not a way of conforming to the world but of transforming the world. It is not in the business of maintaining the social equilibrium or sacralising the social order. Worship disturbs the status quo, it is a standing challenge to the injustices and oppression of the earthly city because worshippers are looking to the city whose builder and maker is God, and in worship they are already anticipating the life of that city.²²

Thus the thesis will also seek to assess the extent to which the national services of thanksgiving and remembrance challenged dominant values.

(B) The pastoral function

The ritual functions section will also include an assessment of the extent to which the national services fulfilled a pastoral function; namely the degree to which they provided comfort for the bereaved, both as regards individuals that have suffered a personal loss as well as nations that have suffered a collective loss.

It could be argued that the political function of the ritual can provide comfort for the bereaved in the sense that a reinforcement of the dominant values of society,

²²Duncan Forrester, James I. H. McDonald and Gian Tellini, *Encounter with God* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1983), p. 178.

or the challenging of those values, can justify death in war through the idea that the fallen have died for their country, or perhaps for a better country or a better world. However, whilst this might provide comfort for some, it is not enough. As Roger Grainger writes:

Throughout their lives, men and women must face situations of personal crisis, some of which cause them so much psychological stress that they are forced to seek medical help of one kind or another, and at these times the assurance of God's sustaining love is most precious to them.²³

Indeed, the pastoral function of worship provides important comfort to the bereaved and, in the words of William H. Willimon, can bring about 'the restoration of spiritual and emotional health when dysfunction occurs'.²⁴

Arnold Van Gennep has argued that many events in human life are rites of passage in that they involve journeys from one human condition to another, such as the journey from childhood to adulthood, or from single woman to wife. During each of these journeys, Van Gennep argues, the traveller passes through three stages: the 'pre-liminal', an initial detachment; the 'liminal', a process of transition; and the 'post-liminal', a process of

²³Roger Grainger, *The Message of the Rite. The Significance of Christian Rites of Passage* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1988), p. 65.

²⁴William H. Willimon, *Worship as Pastoral Care* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1979), p. 100.

incorporation.²⁵

Taking Van-Gennep's ideas about rites of passage, and superimposing on them the research of Colin Murray Parkes, Ian Ainsworth-Smith and Peter Speck on the grief process, we can construct a model of bereavement. Van Gennep's first stage is the 'pre-liminal'. Utilising the work of Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck, we can argue that during this stage of the grief process the bereaved experience intense feelings of separation from loved ones. Van Gennep's second stage is the 'liminal'. Again employing the work of Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck, we can observe that during this stage of the grief process the bereaved experience a whole range of emotions, ranging from guilt to confusion to bitterness. Victor Turner's idea of 'communitas' is also relevant at this stage in that the process of mutual bonding through ritual can assist the process of transition, or healing in this context. Van Gennep's third stage is the 'post-liminal'. Once more, using the work of Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck, we can conclude that during this stage of the grief process, the variety of emotions experienced in the 'liminal' stage are resolved and the bereaved come to terms with their grief.

²⁵Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffé (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), pp. 20-21.

It is through this model that we shall assess the extent to which the national services of thanksgiving and remembrance were able to give comfort to the bereaved, and thus the degree to which they met the needs of the Scottish people.

Having provided a theoretical framework by which the services can be analysed, we will now turn to the services themselves.

3. THE NATIONAL SERVICE OF THANKSGIVING AND REMEMBRANCE AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR.

The harsh history of life and death in wartime is portrayed vividly in the lives of those who have survived the trauma of war. In the aftermath of the First World War, there was an important role for churches to play in addressing the fundamental needs of individuals and of the nation as a whole. One way the churches in Britain attempted to address some of those needs, particularly those of the bereaved, was to hold a national service of thanksgiving and remembrance in England and Scotland immediately after the war, and it is to the service in Scotland that this chapter is addressed.

1. The Ritual Context.

(A) The life of the nation and the Church during the First World War.

With the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914, the British nation entered a period when it was to be shaped for the first time by the demands of total war. The duration, scale and cost of the war demanded a mobilisation of national resources on an unprecedented scale, producing important developments in the social, economic and political spheres. Yet whatever historical

perspective one adopts regarding the effects of the war,¹ an important factor to consider was the memory of human loss. As the social and demographic historian, J. M. Winter, writes:

War losses touched virtually every household in Britain, and nearly every family was diminished by the death in combat of a father, a son, a brother, a cousin, or a friend. Four years of bloodletting had created a bond of bereavement which transcended distinctions of class or caste, for what mattered was not that the war had destroyed potential leaders or poets, but that it had cut a swathe through an entire generation.²

Bereavement had become a universal experience and when the guns finally silenced all along the Western Front on 11 November 1918, the nation faced the prospect of mourning a 'Lost Generation'.

Canon Alan Wilkinson has undertaken much research regarding the Church during the First World War.³ Although his work is specifically restricted to England rather than Scotland, it was clear that churches throughout the country – along with many in secular

¹for an historiographical overview of the debate on the effects of the First World War on British society see Rex Pope, *War and Society in Britain 1899-1948* (London: Longman, 1991), pp. 30-37, 59-69.

²J. M. Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (London: Macmillan, 1986), p. 305.

³Alan Wilkinson, *Dissent or Conform? War, Peace and the English Churches 1900-1945* (London: SCM Press, 1988); Ibid., *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: SPCK, 1978).

life⁴- were unprepared for the magnitude of the events that were about to be visited upon them. Wilkinson writes:

In the decade before 1914, it was innocently believed that progress was making war an anachronism. Were not nations increasingly willing to settle disputes by arbitration? The Baptist leader, Dr. John Clifford, declared in January, 1914: 'A new era is coming nearer and nearer every year. Militarism belongs to the dark ages. It is going.'⁵

Even the World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh in 1910 did not foresee what the British people and the world was about to endure, or what would be required of the churches if war did occur.⁶

Indeed, this view was evident in the Church of Scotland's monthly magazine, *Life and Work*, which began 1914 with a prayer asking God for help to 'adventure upon the New Year without anxiety or distress,' and to grant knowledge of His goodness 'so that none of the uncertainties of life can disturb us and none of the opportunities of life find us unprepared.'⁷

⁴see N. Angell, *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power to National Advantage* (London: William Heinemann, 1912)); J. D. Miller, *Norman Angell and the Futility of War: Peace and the Public Mind* (London: MacMillan Press, 1986).

⁵Alan Wilkinson, 'Christ in No Man's Land,' *Church Times*, 4 November 1988, p. 13.

⁶G. Stephens Spinks, *Religion in Britain Since 1900* (London: Andrew Dakers, 1952), p. 65.

⁷'Editorial,' *Life and Work* 36 (January 1914), p. 1.

Paul Fussell, one of the best-known literary and cultural critics of the First World War, has encapsulated the means by which the war has been remembered, conventionalised and mythologised by the British people. He sets the scene in Britain at the outbreak of war:

Out of the world of summer, 1914, marched a unique generation. It believed in Progress and Art and in no way doubted the benignity even of technology. The word *machine* was not yet invariably coupled with the word *gun*.⁸

Fussell, however, highlights the fact that conflict was not entirely unexpected. The irony was that trouble was anticipated in Ulster rather than in Flanders: 'It was expected to be domestic and embarrassing rather than savage and incomprehensible.'⁹

On the whole, then, the nation was largely unprepared for what was to shatter the August Bank holiday mood of 1914. The war when it came, though, was greeted with a good deal of jingoistic fervour, even a barely concealed joy amongst those who still regarded war as a glorious affair which the British always won.¹⁰ Yet the retreat of the British army from Mons and the bloody deadlock that developed on the Western Front soon altered perspectives. The war became a war of attrition, characterised by the

⁸Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 24.

⁹Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁰In this thesis the term jingoism is used to denote a strident patriotism. The term chauvinism is used in the same sense.

horrors of the trenches. 'I hate the business of war,' wrote one soldier from the battlefields, 'the horror, the waste, the destruction, the inefficiency.'¹¹ On the Home Front, 'business as usual' was replaced by censorship, rationing and conscription, with the state gradually assuming more and more control of the social and economic life of the country. The old familiar landscape of Edwardian Britain was disappearing, and underpinning all this were the long lists of casualties that appeared daily in the newspapers.¹²

Such was the turmoil and uncertainty into which the people in Britain were thrown. But what part did the Church of Scotland play during the war? In many senses the initial reaction of the Church of Scotland was similar to that of the rest of the country: it did not foresee the brutal realities of war. A positive and particularly presbyterian view of the conflict was reflected in *Life and Work* in December 1914:

It can hardly be questioned that, in spite of all the horrible anxiety, the country is a more gracious place to live than it was in December last year, and life is more serious and worthy. The endless round of entertainments in which rich people spend their time, the sports and indulgences of poorer people, are curtailed; and

¹¹Gen. Monash; quoted in *Death's Men. Soldiers of the Great War* by Denis Winter (London: Allen Lane, 1978), p. 226.

¹²for a more detailed account of the Home Front during the First World War see John Stevenson, *British Society 1914-45* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1984), pp. 78-103.

everybody is the better for it.¹³

In addition to the belief that the war would bring about a rejection of the materialism and selfishness that had seemed so prevalent during the late nineteenth century, the Church did display a decidedly jingoistic attitude to the war. In August 1914 the Rev Dr. Wallace Williamson, the minister of St. Giles' Cathedral, told his congregation:

By all the noblest traditions of our history we are bound to the sacred cause of human freedom.... We stand as we have always stood, for the great apostolic principles of humility, patriotism, loyalty, and religion.¹⁴

The anguish of the conflict was countered by the Church in appeals to chauvinistic sentiment, and the clarion call of the righteous war was proclaimed from many Scottish pulpits. Similar pronouncements were heard elsewhere in the British Isles.¹⁵

Meanwhile, the gross underestimation of the enemy and the profound difficulties of trench warfare had begun to make their mark on the Scottish people by 1915. The increase in industrial production to meet the demands for munitions caused a good deal of unrest and entailed

¹³'Editorial,' *Life and Work* 36 (December 1914), p. 357.

¹⁴'Intercessory Services. Great Service in St Giles,' *The Scotsman*, 10 August 1914, p. 7.

¹⁵see A. F. Winnington-Ingram, *The Church in the Time of War* (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co., 1915).

increasing rents and the dilution of the skilled workforce with unskilled or female labour. Strikes became a feature of life in Scotland over the next two years - the rent strike in Govan in 1915, the engineering strike in Cathcart in the same year and the 1916 strike at Parkhead Forge. The seeds of 'Red Clydeside' were sown.¹⁶

Responding to the social tensions within the nation, the Church of Scotland, through various committees of the General Assembly, attempted to address the liturgical, moral and spiritual issues raised by the war. The Committee on Aids to Devotion was instructed by the 1915 General Assembly 'to have regard in their future work to the circumstances and spiritual needs of the people at this grave time in our national need.'¹⁷ Throughout the war this Committee prepared and issued services and forms of prayer, as the need arose.¹⁸ These liturgies specifically included the elements of repentance, forgiveness and intercession for our enemies.¹⁹ However,

¹⁶Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Century, 1991), pp. 424-425.

¹⁷The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on Aids to Devotion,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1916* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1916), p. 782.

¹⁸for a list of these prayers consult the 'Report of the Committee on Aids to Devotion' contained in the General Assembly reports for each year of the war.

¹⁹The Church of Scotland, Committee on Aids to Devotion, *A Form and Order of Divine Service for the Day of Humble Prayer, Intercession, and Thanksgiving* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1916).

alongside these prayers the jingoistic attitude expressed in sermons at the outbreak of the war continued to be a feature of worship. As one young Church of Scotland minister, Charles Warr, recalled: 'the Church to an unfortunate degree, had become the instrument of the state and in too many pulpits the preacher had assumed the role of a recruiting sergeant.'²⁰

In addition to this, in 1916 the General Assembly set up a Commission on the War to examine the wider 'spiritual' and 'moral' issues raised by the conflict.²¹ With Wallace Williamson as one of its convenors, the Commission's remit included the need for a 'rededication of the spiritual life of the nation', and to prepare the Church for the return of the men on active service.'²² The introduction of such a Commission is an illustration of the growth of social consciousness within the churches and some commentators have regarded this as a by-product of the war.²³

²⁰Charles L. Warr, *The Glimmering Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1960), p. 118.

²¹The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Commission on the War,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1917* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1917), p. 724.

²²*Ibid.*, 'Report of the Commission on the War,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1918* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1918), p. 620.

²³A. C. Cheyne *The Transforming of the Kirk* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrews Press, 1983), pp. 176-218.

In its reports in 1917 and 1918, the Commission acknowledged 'the difficulties of our people in regard to the doctrine of Divine Providence, renewed and deepened emphasis on the Immanence of God as well as on His Transcendence.'²⁴ However, the chauvinistic message continued to be featured:

Spiritual issues, as, for example, of right against might, and of Christ's universal authority, underlie and characterise the war. We are all involved in declension to materialism and loss of positive faith, and have all need to repent. Nevertheless God has given to our people grace to choose the better part; and we are called to be His instruments to resist a moral and spiritual menace.²⁵

The Commission further stressed that after the dangers and horrors of war it had a unique role to play in the resettlement of the 70% of Scottish soldiers who it was thought had some attachment to the Church:

... the return of the Army will mean a challenge as well as a splendid opportunity; and that if the Church awakens to a real understanding of the men's outlook on life and religion, and girds herself to meet their needs, she will become, more than ever in the past, a mighty and beneficent force in the national life.²⁶

²⁴The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Commission on the War,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1917* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1917), p. 727.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 725-726.

²⁶The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Commission on the War,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1918* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1918), p. 628.

Yet, not only was there no mention of the great problem of bereavement within the nation, but the Commission provided no real answer to some of the fundamental issues that soldiers were facing. As the Commission itself concluded:

Many, however, are bewildered as to the moral aspects of God's providence. 'Why should He, if omnipotent and good, allow such a war as this?' 'Where does God come in?'²⁷

This dilemma facing the Church was reiterated by an ecumenical committee, set up in 1917 under Dr. David Cairns, to examine the religious beliefs of soldiers and the implications of this for the religious life of the nation. Drawing on the views of both English and Scottish soldiers, the committee's report acknowledged that a number had lost their faith whilst others had only a 'primitive religious conviction' with no real association to the Christian faith.²⁸

The First World War thus precipitated a great deal of heart-searching and questioning in the Church. Now was the time to make a real and lasting impact on the life of the nation at a time of great personal and national crisis. The crisis which lay at the very heart of civilian and military experience was the sheer scale of

²⁷Ibid., p. 627.

²⁸D. S. Cairns, *The Army and Religion. An Enquiry and its Bearing upon the Religious Life of the Nation* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1919), p. 9.

human loss and grief.

(B) The aftermath of the First World War and its impact on the community and on the individual.

The precise number of British casualties is something which journalists, statisticians, demographers, politicians and historians have disagreed on since the war itself; the apparent imprecision over this matter being largely due to a lack of recorded evidence. However, in a detailed study, J. M. Winter estimates that a total of 722,785 British servicemen died in the First World War. Although this is not identical to the census-based estimate, he argues that in spite of the ambiguity, it is close to several traditional figures on war losses.²⁹ Within this total, the Scottish toll was particularly grievous. The Scottish historians, Christopher Harvie, T. C. Smout and Michael Lynch estimate that Scotland lost some 110,000 men.³⁰ For Scotland, Lynch writes: 'The sacrifice was higher in proportionate terms than for any other country in the Empire.'³¹

²⁹J. M. Winter, pp. 65-71.

³⁰Christopher Harvie, *No Gods and Precious Few Heroes. Scotland 1914-1980* (London: Edward Arnold, 1981), p. 24; T. C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People 1830-1950* (London: Collins, 1986), p. 267; Lynch, p. 422.

³¹Lynch, p. 267; for a revisionist view of war losses which places them in the context of other combatant countries and other wars, see John Terraine, *The Smoke and the Fire. Myths and Anti-Myths of War 1861-1945* (London: Sidgwick & Johnson, 1980), pp. 35-47.

The impact of the First World War on attitudes towards death and mourning has been much discussed by sociologists, historians and theologians. The social historian, David Cannadine, disputes the commonly held assumption in the works of Herman Feifel and Geoffrey Gorer, that the nineteenth century was the golden age of grief.³² At the outbreak of the First World War Cannadine writes:

The death rate had fallen markedly. The ostentation of mourning had been in decline for over thirty years. Dying was increasingly associated with old age. At the same time death on the battlefield was seen as something noble, heroic, splendid, romantic - *and unlikely*.³³

All this was to change drastically as the experience of human loss from the 'carnage of war' touched the hearts of the Scottish people. Cannadine argues that the twentieth century has not seen a decline in the rituals of mourning, they have merely become more public and collective. Clear evidence for Cannadine's argument can be found in the national rituals of remembrance which emerged after the First World War. Indeed, the inter-war

³²Herman Feifel, ed., *The Meaning of Death* (London: McGraw-Hill, 1959), pp. xiii-xviii; Herman Feifel, ed., *New Meaning of Death* (London: McGraw-Hill, 1977), pp. 3-11; Geoffrey Gorer, *Death, Grief and Mourning in Contemporary Britain* (London: The Cresset Press, 1965), pp. 1-15.

³³David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain,' in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed. Joachim Whaley (London: Europa Publications, 1981), p. 196.

years were obsessed with matters of death – and there was never a better time to grieve.³⁴

The military historian, Denis Winter, notes that in demographic terms 'the carnage of the Somme, Ypres, Arras and all the set battles of the western front was of little long-term consequence, provided that one can ignore the grief associated with loss.'³⁵ But that, of course, was impossible. In the midst of the celebrations at the end of the war, the overwhelming sense of loss and grief was present in the life of the nation. Even Winston Churchill, who served in the trenches with the Royal Highland Fusiliers and was often accused of glorifying war, portrayed a sense of disillusionment and despair in his description of the celebrations:

Too much blood had been spilt. Too much life-essence had been consumed. The gaps in every home were too wide and empty. The shock of an awakening and the sense of disillusion followed swiftly upon the poor rejoicings with which hundreds of millions saluted the achievement of their hearts' desire. There still remained the satisfactions of safety assured, of peace restored, of honour preserved, of the comfort of fruitful industry, of the home-coming of the soldiers; but these were in the background; and with them all there mingled the ache for those who would never come home.³⁶

The shadow of war had cast its gloom and melancholy over

³⁴Ibid., pp. 187-189.

³⁵Denis Winter, p. 255.

³⁶Winston S. Churchill, *The World Crisis: The Aftermath* (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1929), p. 19.

those who were left to mourn the dead.

In response to the national feeling of loss and grief, the Church had an enormous task to undertake. Before looking at how it responded to this, it is important to acknowledge the different ways in which the nation experienced the sense of loss in relation to the war. Sigmund Freud makes a distinction between two particular groups - 'those who themselves risk their lives in battle, and those who have stayed at home, and have only to wait for the loss of one of their dear ones by wounds, disease or infection.'³⁷ This distinction highlights the differences between those who experienced death first-hand - those at the front - and those at home who saw none of the horrors of death, no corpses, but who still experienced the pain of loss.

The front-line soldiers' experience was centred around the continual presence of death. For many soldiers, the sight of death at such close quarters and the inescapable presence of their own death undermined their human reasoning and dulled their senses. It was their way of staying sane. Yet the experience of mass death in war was something that would haunt them for the rest of their

³⁷Sigmund Freud, 'On the History of the Psycho-analytical Movement, Papers on Metapsychology and Other Works,' in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. 14 (1914-1916)*, ed., James Strachey (London: The Hogarth Press, 1957), p. 291.

lives.³⁸ Alongside these feelings, the soldiers had to accept the fact that they too were agents of death, killing and wounding other human beings. Shock, guilt, denial, remorse, confusion and anger were only some of the emotions that the experience of war left behind.³⁹ And, as Harold MacMillan, a former Guards officer during the war, pointed out, there were even feelings of guilt on the part of those who were fortunate enough to survive:

I found afterwards that few of the survivors of my own age felt able to shake off the memory of these years. We are haunted by them. We almost began to feel a sense of guilt for not having shared the fate of our friends and comrades. We certainly felt an obligation to make some decent use of the life that had been spared to us. When the war finally ended most of us were at a loss as to how to take up our lives again.⁴⁰

For those that were left at home, the experience of death often came in the form of a laconic message from the authorities. In Glasgow alone, the 18,000 dead accounted for 10% of all adult males.⁴¹ In a twelve mile ring around Turiff in Aberdeenshire, one in four of the 1,081

³⁸Denis Winter, pp. 131-133, 248-251.

³⁹These feelings are all expressed in the work of the war poets: Siegfried Sassoon, *Counter-Attack and other Poems* (London: William Heinemann, 1918); Edmund Blunden, *The Poems of Wilfred Owen* (London: Chatts & Windus, 1931).

⁴⁰Harold MacMillan, *Winds of Change 1914-1939* (London: MacMillan, 1966), p. 98.

⁴¹Lynch, p. 422.

soldiers that served died.⁴² The impact on relatives and friends was traumatic.⁴³ The Scottish music-hall comedian, Harry Lauder, summed up the feelings of many when he wrote of the loss of his son:

1 January 1917. News after four days. Realization came to me slowly. I sat and stared at that slip of paper. I had looked on my boy for the last time and it was for this moment that we had all been waiting ever since we had sent John away. We had all known that it was too much to hope that he should be one of those spared. For a time I was quite numb. Then came a great pain and I whispered to myself over and over again the one terrible word 'dead'. It seemed that for me the board of life was blank and black. For me there was no past and there would be no future. Everything had been swept away by one sweep of the hand of fate. My friends came to me. They came rushing to me. Never did a man have better friends. But I was beyond the power of human words to comfort. That New Year night I shall never forget no matter how long God may let me live, God came to me. And we shall come some day, his mother and I, to the place where he is waiting. He will spy me. 'Hello, Dad,' he will call. I will feel the grip of his young, strong arms about me just as in the happy days before that day which is of all the days of my life the most terrible and hateful in my memory.⁴⁴

Analysts of death and bereavement have made us increasingly aware of the longer-term effects of losses such as this. In 1917 Freud identified a number of

⁴²Denis Winter, p. 255.

⁴³Lewis Grassie Gibbon vividly described the effect of the First World War on the life of a Scottish community. See Lewis Grassie Gibbon, *A Scots Quair* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1946).

⁴⁴Harry Lauder; quoted in Denis Winter, p. 257.

bereaved as suffering from an acute melancholia.⁴⁵ One survey found that 12% of widows died within a year, whilst another reported that 14% still saw the ghost of the deceased and 39% felt his presence. The post-war generation arguably suffered greater stress because death was mainly confined to the young.⁴⁶ The grieving process was made more problematic by the fact that the dead were buried in a foreign land or had no known grave. In these circumstances, the pain of separation was intense.

The experience of those who fought in the war and those who did not differed and it was difficult for either group to console and support the other at the end of the war. For some ex-soldiers the difficulty of reintegrating into peacetime society was great and this was something which they shared in common only with their fellow soldiers.⁴⁷ Both soldiers and civilians alike, therefore, felt a deep sense of estrangement and frustration. The one common emotion, however, which united these two groups, was their sense of loss. It may have been the loss of a loved one, or a fellow comrade; the loss of personal ideals and visions which disintegrated in the realities of war; or the loss of belief in God. During the war, Charles L. Warr observed:

⁴⁵Sigmund Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia,' in *Collected Papers*, translated by Joan Riviere (London: Hogarth Press, 1950), vol. 4, pp. 152-170.

⁴⁶Denis Winter, pp. 257-258.

⁴⁷Cannadine, p. 212.

The world has become grey and cold, grown desolate and dreary - a world of empty rooms and sad echoes, whence joy has fled and love has vanished...

There seems no light anywhere... our hearts are aching for love that we lost... our dear ones are dead.

It is easy to talk high-souled platitudes when one has never suffered - it is very hard to act up to them when the iron of grief and sorrow has entered into the soul.⁴⁸

Whatever the war ultimately achieved, it had in its depths created a bond of bereavement between the Scottish people.

(C) The response of the Church and the nation in the aftermath of the First World War.

After the Armistice had been signed, the problem of trying to live with the memory of war was one which had to be addressed urgently by both Church and nation. Here, the role of religious ritual was particularly important in the pastoral care of the bereaved. In rituals such as Armistice Day and the various remembrance and thanksgiving services after the war, the bereaved could find some comfort from the public acknowledgement that the dead would never be forgotten and find support from the collective act of national remembrance. In many ways these rituals would provide the funeral ceremony that some servicemen never had. Although these rituals could

⁴⁸Charles L. Warr, *The Unseen Host. Stories of the Great War* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1916), pp. 258-259.

never fully heal the bitter memories of the war which had become part of the fabric of peoples' lives, they were one step, if not the most crucial step, in coming to terms with the past.

There were many memorial services held in St Giles during the course of the war. Immediately after its outbreak, there was a service held in the Cathedral on Sunday 9 August 1914 calling 'the people to prayer that the calamity of war might be overruled for good, and that God would give peace in His time.'⁴⁹ There was also a memorial service held every St Andrew's Day during the war for those who had been killed in battle. In January 1917, in response to the King's call to the Empire to set apart the first Sunday of the year to prayer and thanksgiving, a further service was held in St Giles and repeated the following year.⁵⁰ What these services had in common was their attempt to unite people not only in prayer, but also in jingoistic sentiment. These elements were to play their role in the national Service of Thanksgiving in Scotland immediately after the war.

The first national act of Remembrance took the form of a religious service of Thanksgiving in St Paul's Cathedral

⁴⁹'Intercessory Services. Great Service in St. Giles,' *The Scotsman*, 10 August 1914, p. 7.

⁵⁰for the orders of service and related material consult St. Giles' Cathedral Archive, St. Giles Chronicles, vols. 16-18, 1914-1919.

in London on 12 November 1918.⁵¹ This was followed by a Scottish national service held at St Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh on 21 November.⁵² By focusing on this service and examining the functions of the ritual, we can begin to explore how much, if at all, these rituals of remembrance addressed the needs of the Scottish people.

Before looking at the national service held on 21 November, it should, however, be noted that this was not the first service of thanksgiving held in St Giles after the Armistice was signed. On 17 November, the first Sunday after the Armistice, a local service of thanksgiving for victory and peace took place in the Cathedral. This was also a great civic occasion, with representatives from both local and national institutions. Attendance was open to all and there were no tickets issued for admittance. This service was clearly a more solemn occasion than the national one which took place in the Cathedral a few days later. At the service many people wore mourning dress as an expression of their personal sorrow and loss. Indeed, although the services held on 17 and 21 November 1918 were similar in content, the first service included a sermon preached by the minister of St Giles, Dr

⁵¹ 'Thanksgiving. The King and Queen at St. Paul's Today,' *The Times*, 12 November 1918, p. 9.

⁵² Norman MacLean, 'Rendering God Thanks. Historic Service in St. Giles' Cathedral,' *The Scotsman*, 22 November 1918, p. 4.

Williamson, on the remembrance of those who had died in the war.⁵³ During the national service four days later, this was omitted. This service was clearly going to be more chauvinistic in tone.

2. The Ritual Act.

The decision to hold a national service in Scotland to mark the end of the First World War was made in conjunction with the arrangements for the visit to Edinburgh of Their Majesties King George and Queen Mary.⁵⁴ The Royal visit was arranged at the request of the King and Queen who, it was reported, desired to travel north in order to 'personally participate in the national feelings of joy and pride and thanksgiving over the triumphant close of a war.'⁵⁵ The national service was planned, therefore, as one event amidst a number of civic events to take place during the Royal visit to Edinburgh. To this end, a ceremony was to be held in the City Chambers before the service in order to present the keys of the city of Edinburgh to the King, and another civic event was to be held after the service in the Usher Hall.

⁵³ 'Memorable Service at St Giles' Cathedral,' *The Evening News*, 18 November 1918, p. 4.

⁵⁴ 'Royal Visit to Scotland,' *The Scotsman*, 18 November 1918, p. 4.

⁵⁵ 'Editorial,' *The Scotsman*, 18 November 1918, p. 4.

As national services in Scotland were usually held in the High Kirk of Edinburgh, it was no doubt deemed appropriate that the service to mark the end of the First World War should be held there. As there seems to be no documentary evidence to suggest that the government had any influence or control over the content of the service, it can be assumed that the minister of St Giles, the Rev. Dr Wallace Williamson, planned the service.⁵⁶

On 19 November *The Scotsman* made a public announcement that Their Majesties the King and Queen and the Prince of Wales were to visit Edinburgh and attend a national Service of Thanksgiving. A public holiday was declared for their visit on 21 November. 'In the circumstances of the time,' it was noted, 'there should be no lavish display or artificial decoration.'⁵⁷ However, this was suggested not so much out of respect for those who had suffered the loss of loved ones during the war. 'With many,' the article continued, 'it has often been the complaint that undue embellishment has, to some extent, disguised the natural beauty of Edinburgh itself.'⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the details of the royal procession through

⁵⁶There is no documented evidence in St Giles' Cathedral Archive, the Head Office of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh City Chambers' Archive or the Scottish Record Office, of any discussions between Dr Williamson and the government over the plans for the national service.

⁵⁷'Royal Visit to Edinburgh,' *The Scotsman*, 19 November 1918, p. 4.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*

the city were published and it was intimated that 'citizens on the royal route will probably display spontaneously flags and such simple decorations as may be readily available.'⁵⁹ From the outset, this whole service was publicised more as the celebration of a Royal event than as a religious occasion marking the end of a war.⁶⁰

Indeed, in the speech given by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh to the King in the Usher Hall, shortly after the national service in St Giles' Cathedral, it was stated that it was a time to 'greatly rejoice under Almighty God at the present glorious outcome of the common efforts and sacrifices in this unprecedented war.'⁶¹ Jingoism was to be very much the order of the day.

Having considered the broad context in which the service was introduced to the public, it is important to turn our attention to the service itself and give a description of the ritual act. The minister of St Giles conducted the service in the presence of the King and Queen and leading civic dignitaries. King George, Queen Mary, and the Prince of Wales were received at the great west door by the minister and a procession was then formed consisting

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰'Thanksgiving in St Giles'. An Impressive Service,' *The Scotsman*, 22 November 1918, p. 6.

⁶¹Edinburgh City Chambers' Archive, Minutes of the Town Council of Edinburgh, 21 November 1918.

of the Pursuivants and Herald's, the Lord Lyon King of Arms (Sir James Balfour Paul), the King, the Rev. Dr Wallace Williamson, the Queen, the Rev. Dr Ogilvie (the Moderator), the Prince of Wales, the Rev. S. J. Ramsay Sibbald of Crathie, and members of the suite. Their Majesties were conducted to the Royal Pew and the service began with the singing of the 100th Psalm.⁶²

After the Psalm, Dr Williamson called the congregation to prayer:

Our fathers in time of victory, as well as of defeat, gathered round the feet of God in this ancient church; and so to-day we have met with our beloved King and Queen to offer our thanksgiving for victory and to remember the fallen.⁶³

After prayer, the congregation sang the call to thanksgiving, taken from Psalm 106, 'O give thanks unto the lord.'⁶⁴ This was followed by the Old Testament Lesson from I Chronicles, 29: 10-13, read by the Rev. Dr Drummond, Moderator of the United Free Church. Psalm 46 was then sung, 'God is our refuge and our strength', and following this the New Testament Lesson was read from

⁶²'Thanksgiving in St Giles. An Impressive Service,' *The Scotsman*, 22 November 1918, p. 6; Edinburgh City Chambers' Archive, Minutes of the Town Council of Edinburgh, 21 November 1918.

⁶³MacLean, p. 4. There is no documentation of the full text of this prayer and, therefore, the precise details of what was actually confessed in the service remain unknown.

⁶⁴St Giles' Cathedral Archive, St Giles Chronicles, vol. 18, 1918-1919, 'St Giles' Cathedral. Order of Divine Service on Thursday, 21st November 1918. Attended by Their Majesties The King and Queen.' [hereafter Appendix 1], p. 238.

Revelation 21: 1-4, by the Rev. S. J. Ramsay Sibbald of Crathie. Psalm 124 was then sung and was followed by the main Prayer of Commemoration and Thanksgiving led by Dr Williamson. Here, Williamson gave thanks for the vision of a better world, for the devotion of the King, the honour of statesmen, the willing submission of all parties to authority, and the unity of national life realised in the presence of danger.⁶⁵ A large laurel wreath was subsequently placed on the steps in front of the Communion Table, bearing the colours of the Scottish regiments, and the inscription: 'In proud and grateful memory of the officers and men of our Scottish Regiments.'⁶⁶ After the prayer of Thanksgiving and Commemoration, Paraphrase 66 was sung - 'How bright these glorious spirits shine.' Before the Benediction was pronounced by Dr Ogilvie, the Doxology was sung.⁶⁷ This was followed by the singing of the National Anthem. The King and Queen left by way of the Thistle Chapel and Bach's 'Jesus Lives' was played for the recessional.⁶⁸

3. The Ritual Functions.

⁶⁵'Thanksgiving in St Giles'. An Impressive Service,' *The Scotsman*, 22 November 1918, p. 6.

⁶⁶'The Royal Visit to Edinburgh,' *The Scotsman*, 23 November 1918, p. 6.

⁶⁷Appendix 1, p. 240.

⁶⁸'The Royal Visit to Edinburgh', *The Scotsman*, 23 November 1918, p. 6.

(A) The political function.

(i) A functionalist analysis.

Building on the views of Durkheim, Geertz and Bocock, the functionalist view sees ritual as maintaining the dominant values of society and this was very evident in the national service after the First World War. To begin with, the planning of the service was surrounded by a good deal of civic ceremony. As we have seen, immediately before the service a civic ceremony was held in the City Chambers where the keys of the city were presented to the King; the service was attended by leading civic dignitaries; military colours were displayed in the Cathedral; and another formal civic ceremony was held in the Usher Hall after the service.⁶⁹ This served to equate the ritual with the existing governing establishment.

Moreover, the jingoistic theme of British greatness ran throughout the national service. Not only was this strongly endorsed by the presence of the King and Queen and key members of the state, but in his prayer of thanksgiving and commemoration, Wallace Williamson expressed particular gratitude for the King's devotion during the time of crisis. Indeed, Norman MacLean describes how this dominated the overall character of the service:

⁶⁹Edinburgh City Chambers' Archive, Minutes of the Town Council of Edinburgh, 21 November 1918.

There are moments when even in a solemn service there falls a deeper stillness; and there came such a moment when prayer was offered for the King and Queen. It is amazing the appeal that Kinghood makes to the heart, when Kinghood is worthy and noble. And so the prayer arose for the solitary man, alone in his altitude, every heart in that vast throng went forth to His Majesty. It is strange and indefinable. It is of the centuries, and it is of eternity, for to the people still the King is the Lord's Anointed.⁷⁰

The link between religion and national loyalty was evident throughout the service.

The idea of British greatness was also promoted by the theme of thanksgiving for victory. The national service was defined in the newspapers as a service of thanksgiving, rather than one of remembrance,⁷¹ and in the opening words of the service, just after Psalm 100 had been sung, Wallace Williamson outlined that the main purpose was to gather in the presence of God and the King and Queen in order to offer thanksgiving for victory. In his description of the service MacLean emphasised this: 'in after years men will read the record of St. Giles' crowning day with throbbing hearts. For truly the greatest day of all is that in which the King is come to St Giles' to thank God for a victory such as no Empire

⁷⁰Norman MacLean, 'Rendering God Thanks. Historic Service in St Giles' Cathedral,' *The Scotsman*, 22 November 1918, p. 4.

⁷¹'Thanksgiving in St. Giles. An Impressive Service,' *The Scotsman*, 22 November 1918, p. 6.

ever knew.'⁷² Indeed, MacLean's description of the service portrays a mood of triumphalism:

The sound of cheering in the streets, coming muffled through the swing-doors, heralded the coming of King George and Queen Mary to the ancient Church of St Giles, there in the midst of the Scottish nation to render God humble and reverent thanks for the crowning mercy of deliverance and victory. As an old man the other day sat talking to a friend of the great triumph, and as proof was piled upon proof of its completeness, the patriarch tapped his knee punctuating each recital with the words, "Eh, what a victory!" It was as if he was trying by the repetition of the words to realise the greatness of the hour. That was also the feeling in many hearts as the Lyon King led the King and Queen and the Prince of Wales up the nave of St Giles.⁷³

The mood of British greatness was further enhanced by the music played at the beginning of the service. At previous services during the war when those who had died were remembered, the service usually opened with subdued organ music such as Chopin's 'Funeral March' or 'The Dead March' in Saul.⁷⁴ However, there was no solemn opening to the national service after the First World War since it began with Psalm 100, 'All people that on earth do dwell', which celebrates the presence of God and joyfully

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³MacLean, p. 4.

⁷⁴St Giles' Cathedral Archive, St. Giles Chronicles, vol. 17, 1916-17, 'St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh. Memorial Service for Those Who Have Fallen In The War. St Andrew's Day, Thursday, 30th November 1916'; University of Edinburgh, New College Library, 'Services during First World War' folder, 'University Chapel Glasgow. Service in Commemoration of Members of the University who have Fallen in the War, Wednesday, 17th March, 1915.'

proclaims His Kingdom.⁷⁵ In the light of the theme of rejoicing, equal weight was clearly not given to the concepts of remembrance and thanksgiving.

As a result of the strong emphasis on the greatness of the British nation, it could be argued that the national service was built primarily around the concern for the nation state, with the worship of God becoming a secondary feature. Certainly, amidst the jingoistic sentiments of national rejoicing in this service, the congregation did first and foremost offer their thanksgiving to God. In the call to thanksgiving, the congregation expressed their gratitude to God for his mercy and goodness: 'O Give thanks unto the Lord; for He is good: for His mercy endureth for ever. To Him which led His people through the wilderness: for His mercy endureth for ever.'⁷⁶ In a similar vein, God's sovereignty over all creation was emphasised in the Old Testament lesson from I Chronicles: 'Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaven and the earth is Thine; Thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and Thou art exalted as Head above all.'⁷⁷ Nevertheless, in view of the emphasis on British greatness, the

⁷⁵Appendix 1, p. 238.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid.

distinction between the nation and God tended to be blurred.

In analysing the functionalist aspects of the national service, the very fact that the service concentrated on the theme of national greatness, rather than remembrance, suggests that the ritual had little in common with Warner's understanding of the civic ritual of American Memorial Day. Certainly, as there was no specific reference in the service to the sacrifice of those who died in the war, the debt of the living to the dead, or the idea of a martyr's death equated with the saints, it cannot therefore be directly compared with Warner's idea of a 'cult of the dead' which organises people into a sacred unity.

It could, however, be argued that there was an underlying assumption that the dead were regarded as sacred symbols from the laurel wreath that was placed on the steps in front of the Communion Table bearing the colours of the Scottish regiments. In ancient times, the laurel was sacred to the god Apollo and was associated with purging and purification. In addition, Rome's generals sent messages of their victories wrapped in laurel leaves. Indeed, the laurel not only inspired prophets, but as an evergreen shrub it symbolised immortality.⁷⁸ In modern day usage, the laurel wreath has symbolised victory and

⁷⁸Maria Leach, *Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1949), p. 609.

commemoration and in the context of the national service after the First World War it could be argued that the laurel wreath reaffirmed and sacralized the nobility of the warrior dead by an appeal to 'ancient' tradition.

Nevertheless, whilst the sacred character of the dead may have been conveyed in the symbolic gesture of laying a laurel wreath in front of the Holy Table, it was, nevertheless, only an underlying reference. Perhaps if Wallace Williamson had preached a sermon in the national service, much like the one he had preached four days earlier in St Giles when he specifically referred to the noble sacrifice of those who had died in the war, it would have been possible to make a stronger comparison between the ritual in the national service and Warner's understanding of civic ritual.

A clearer insight into the functionalist aspect of the ritual in the national service after the First World War can be gained from Robert Bellah's understanding of American civil religion. Certainly, there was what might be termed a 'positive' aspect of nationalism present in the thanksgiving service in St Giles. To this end, the national character of the service united people from different denominations – and of none – in one ritual. Indeed, it was clear from Norman MacLean's description of the service that this spirit of solidarity was fostered by a sense of national history and national myth:

The memory that sank deepest was the way the congregation sang the 124th Psalm.... A handful of Scots – moorsmen and cotters – sang these same words on the hillsides and pulled down the strongholds of tyranny. And we in our day, with hearts surcharged and with dim eyes, sing them still. Our fathers trusted in God and were not put to shame; we have experienced the same.⁷⁹

However, alongside the 'positive' aspects of nationalism, there were many jingoistic aspects of the service that conformed to the idea of 'negative' nationalism, with which Bellah's ideas can be associated. There was much in the service that complied with the idea of Britain as a chosen nation. To begin with, it was made clear from the opening of the service that it was God's will that Britain had won the war, and in his call to prayer after Psalm 100 Williamson stated that 'it had pleased God in His good providence to grant them that great deliverance.'⁸⁰ This was further endorsed by Psalm 106, 'O give thanks unto the Lord,' Psalm 46, 'God is our refuge and our strength' and Psalm 124, 'Now Israel May say, and that truly' which stated that without God's help the nation of Israel would not have survived the onslaught of their enemies. As Psalm 124 emphasised:

Now Israel
May say, and that truly,
If that the Lord
Had not our cause maintain'd;
If that the Lord
Had not our right sustain'd,

⁷⁹MacLean, p. 4.

⁸⁰'Thanksgiving in St Giles', ' *The Scotsman*, 22 November 1918, p. 6.

When cruel men
Against us furiously
Rose up in wrath,
To make of us their prey;

Then certainly
They had devour'd us all.⁸¹

The inclusion of these Psalms into the national service in many ways reflected an understanding of 'anamnesis': the service was making a past event a present reality by comparing the story of the Israelite nation with the story of the British nation during the First World War. This kind of theology, according to Alan Wilkinson, was presented by many churches during the Crimean war. In evangelical circles at that time, it was widely believed that England had replaced the Jews as God's chosen people and instrument.⁸²

It could be argued that the belief that Britain was a chosen nation was further conveyed in the service by the fact that Britain's involvement in the war was presented as being so completely righteous in the sight of God that, as far we know, there was no expression of regret at the loss of life suffered by the enemy. The British fallen could not even be associated with their rivals in death.

This kind of chauvinistic justification for the war was

⁸¹Appendix 1, p. 239.

⁸²Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War*, pp. 9-10.

embedded in Wallace Williamson's whole theology and was encapsulated in his address to the congregation in St Giles' on 17 November 1918:

Dr Wallace Williamson, in his address, said that they turned that day heartily to the 124th Psalm. If the Lord had not been on our side we would never have won through. But the Lord was on our side because we were on the side of the Lord. The struggle had been between what was called the justice of might and the might of justice. The justice of might now lay in the dust, and the might of justice spoke to them from heaven.... God would comfort our sorrowing ones. The blood of our noble dead was the seed of a nobler Scotland, a nobler Britain, and, please God, a nobler world.⁸³

In many ways Wallace Williamson's thinking permeated the whole service and his idea of citizenship, with its close relationship between religion and a narrow definition of nationhood, parallels Bellah's work. Indeed, this relationship was central to Williamson's theology before the war had even begun when he stated that religion and national loyalty were essential to the health of the Church.⁸⁴ The war merely served to reinforce his views. Visiting the troops on the Western Front, he told them: 'Two things have made Scotland great - love of country and fear of God. Not one without the

⁸³'Memorable Service in St Giles' Cathedral,' *The Scotsman* 18 November 1918, p. 4.

⁸⁴A. Wallace Williamson, *The Spiritual Calling of the Church: Address Delivered at the Close of the General Assembly, May 30, 1913* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1913), p. 39.

other.⁸⁵

From this functionalist analysis of the national service, the ritual conveyed strong jingoistic sentiments. However, as was pointed out by the Church of Scotland's Commission on the war, the language of chauvinism had alienated many people from the worship of the Church during the war, because they could no longer believe in a narrow understanding of God and His Providential plan for the world. Indeed, one need look no further than the work of the army chaplain, The Rev. G. A. Studdert Kennedy (who lived and worked amongst the troops and was known to them as 'Woodbine Willie'), to see how his own faith was called into question through his first-hand experience of the war, and how much he began to loathe all hypocrisy and cant. This led him to explore the most central themes of theology, ethics and spirituality: how are we to understand the unseen and unrecognised Christ who is present in the acts of human compassion as well as appalling sufferings of the world?⁸⁶ By becoming involved in the jingoistic projection of the war, the Church failed to acknowledge that the war had changed some peoples' fundamental perception of God. The national service thus further alienated those people at a time

⁸⁵The Rev. Dr Wallace Williamson; quoted in *Life of Andrew Wallace Williamson K.C.V.O., D.D.* by the Hon. Lord Sands (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1929), p. 281.

⁸⁶G. K. A. Studdert Kennedy, *Lies* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1932), p. 72.

when it could have played an important role in their lives.

From a functionalist perspective, it can thus be argued that the political function of the ritual did attempt to legitimate the dominant political and social structures in the aftermath of the First World War. However, as ritual functions within a surplus of meanings, it is important to determine if the service at any point attempted to transcend the values of the nation state and present an alternative vision for society.

(ii) An interactionist analysis.

In contrast to the functionalist view of ritual which is concerned with maintaining the status quo, ritual can also challenge the dominant social values as Kertzer, Driver, Flanagan, Forrester, McDonald and Tellini have shown. Certainly, the liturgy did look beyond the immediate concerns of the nation to a future vision of God's Kingdom. The vision of a new life and a new age was described in the service in the lesson read from Revelation 21: 1-4. In this passage we move from the idea of the present to eternity and to the glorious climax to all that God has inspired: the final annihilation of Satan, the resurrection and judgement, and the creation of a 'new heaven and a new earth' from which all pain and



sorrow are to be excluded.⁸⁷ The lesson points out that God's prevailing purpose lies beyond the rise and fall of empires, the afflictions of the righteous and the chances and changes of fortune. It thus provided a glimpse of God's Kingdom and a sense of hope and encouragement.

However, not only were the details of how that Kingdom could become a present reality not outlined in the national service, but there was no consideration in the liturgy of any critical viewpoint of the existing political structure or the concept of war, and the distinction between the civic and the religious character of the service was so blurred that one could not fully determine if the social had become the servant of the Holy - or its master.

Overall, then, the political function of the ritual in the national service after the First World War did not serve to challenge the jingoistic sentiments which had been promoted during the war. In many ways it served to reinforce them.

(B) The pastoral function.

Alongside the political function of the ritual, it is also necessary to study the national service as a rite of passage in order to judge to what extent it addressed the needs of those who grieved.

⁸⁷Revelation 21: 1-4.

Van Gennep's first phase is the 'pre-liminal', which, through the work of Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck, can be associated with feelings of separation in the grief process. This must have been acutely felt when it was announced that the war was finally over and so many did not return from the battlefields - a situation aggravated by the fact that there were no bodies to grieve over or funerals to attend. Rituals of remembrance could ease the passage of the bereaved through this stage of the grief process. However, whilst the national service did include a prayer of commemoration for the fallen, it did not appear to acknowledge the pain of separation experienced at this stage in the grief process.

Van Gennep's second phase is 'liminal'. Here, according to Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck, a host of emotions are released - ranging from guilt, to confusion, to bitterness. For those who were experiencing guilt about their part in such human destruction, the ritual of the national service would have done little for them. In the opening prayer after Psalm 100, Wallace Williamson did leave some room for the confession of sins by beginning: 'Before we offer thanksgiving, let us ask forgiveness.' But whilst a space was provided in the liturgy for people to confess those things for which they may have felt ashamed, the placing of it within a prayer of thanksgiving for victory obscured the sense of regret,

denial and guilt people may have felt as a result of the war. In addition, as far as we know, there was no prayer for the enemy or for the heavy losses which they had suffered in the war. In short, the prayer could not enhance the healing of the painful memories of war.

For those whose feelings were confused, the theology of the service also did little to enlighten them. Some consolation and comfort could have been taken from the singing of Psalm 106, 'O Give thanks unto the Lord'.⁸⁸ In this Psalm, the feelings of remorse, disillusionment, rejection of God and the futility of sacrifice were expressed by people who had rebuked Him. Yet amidst all this God's mercy and forgiveness were affirmed. However, woven into this pastoral theme was the theme of justification for the war: God had saved Britain, like the Jews, from the hand of those who hated her. It could thus be argued that if God had intervened in history and enabled Britain to win the war, why then had He not intervened sooner and thus saved millions from being killed? This kind of theological justification for the war based on God's providential plan was a dangerous one to present as a means of consolation.

Furthermore, there was no recognition in the national service of feelings of bitterness on the part of the bereaved, who often seek someone to blame for the loss of

⁸⁸Appendix 1, p. 238.

a loved one. Not only did the service fail to address this issue, but it is arguable that the theological justification put forward for the war and the jingoistic theme of much of the service would actually have stimulated further bitterness.

Moreover, by largely neglecting the 'liminal' stage, the potential of the ritual to be the bearer of Turner's 'communitas' was not exploited and thus the process of mutual bonding through ritual was unable to contribute much to the healing process. The focus of the service was on thanksgiving for victory and people were being asked to celebrate rather than acknowledge their grief and begin the process of coming to terms with it.

Van Gennep's third phase is 'post-liminal'. Here, through the work of Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck, the variety of emotions outlined above are resolved and the bereaved come to terms with their grief. This last phase was certainly acknowledged in the national service. The lesson read from the Book of Revelation looked to a future time when there would be 'no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain', and the closing hymn, 'How bright these glorious spirits shine', described the heavenly joy which the dead would experience: 'His presence fills each heart with joy, Tunes ev'ry mouth to sing: By day, by night, the

sacred courts With glad hosannahs ring.'⁸⁹ The words of this hymn relate to the bereaved's acceptance of the separation from their loved ones: the dead were no longer in this world but had gone to another. In many ways, this was an attempt to transform the pain and suffering of the bereaved into joy and hope.

However, the service ended with the playing of the National Anthem which, on this occasion, included the second verse:

Thy choicest gifts in store
On him be pleased to pour:
Long may he reign!
May he defend our laws,
And ever give us cause
To sing with heart and voice,
God save the King!⁹⁰

Here, thanksgiving is given to the King for defending the moral laws of the country. Thus the service ended on a note which emphasised national greatness rather than hope for the future. There were many ways, therefore, in which the ritual of the national service did not address the feelings of the bereaved in the various stages of the grief process.

Having examined both the political and pastoral functions of the ritual, it is evident that there was a tension between these two aspects in the national service of

⁸⁹Appendix 1, p. 240.

⁹⁰Ibid.

thanksgiving in Scotland after the First World War. At the end of the war the Scottish were united in their sense of loss and the national service of thanksgiving had the potential to help ease the burden of the bereaved. As we have seen, however, the political (and specifically the functionalist), rather than the pastoral, aspect was dominant and in this sense it can be argued that the Church largely failed the needs of the people.

4. THE NATIONAL SERVICE OF THANKSGIVING AND REMEMBRANCE AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR.

When the First World War ended there were few who did not hope that the human suffering and loss it had brought might result in establishing a better world: a stable and contented society at home, peace and unity among the nations of the world. The history of the twenty years between the First and Second World Wars is a history of the disappointment of these hopes. Out of so much post-First World War literature a picture of Scotland emerges as an anxious, fearful and disillusioned nation. Within this period of history a national ritual of remembrance emerged and became an important feature of the way in which individuals and the nation have attempted to come to terms with the remembrance of war throughout the twentieth century. In many ways, the ritual of remembrance which emerged reflected the political, social and cultural developments of the inter-war years.

Yet whilst the Church and nation sought to address the needs of individuals after the First World War, the country was soon to be plunged into a Second World War against Germany. In a number of aspects, this war was even more total than the first. Following the tradition of holding a national service to mark the end of the war, a national service was held in Scotland and England in the aftermath of the Second World War, and it is this service in Scotland which this chapter will discuss.

1. The Ritual Context.

(A) The life of the nation and the Church from 1918 to 1939.

When the armistice was signed in 1918 and the national service had taken place, Scottish society had to come to terms with the legacy of war and the devastation and sense of loss which had darkened the lives of so many families throughout the country. Reconstruction began with Lloyd George's victory in the General Election in December 1918. The Conservative-dominated coalition promised a 'land fit for heroes', but rising unemployment and poor housing conditions, combined with the revolutionary ideals of the 'Red Clydesiders', led to a wave of public demonstrations and strikes around Scotland.¹

It was against this background of growing unrest that the Church held a National Mission of Rededication in the Spring of 1919 as part of its contribution to post-war reconstruction. This nation-wide Mission was intended as an act of national thanksgiving for a successful end to the war and as an act of personal rededication to God for the future. There was, however, no real response to the Mission's call to Christianise the nation's social and

¹Michael Lynch, *Scotland. A New History* (London: Century, 1991), p. 425.

industrial order.² One of the organisers, Lord Sands, admitted that the Mission was handicapped by an 'indefinitness of aim'.³ Another member, John White, concluded that 'for its failure we must look to the Church itself'.⁴

Meanwhile, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland considered the 'Report of the Committee on the Life and Efficiency of the Church', which had been inquiring into the ways in which the Church's links with the community could be strengthened. The report noted that the Church had received a great deal of criticism from the laity for failing to address the spiritual needs of people during the war years, and that it should play a more prominent role in the social and industrial life of the nation during the post-war era.⁵ As a result of this report, it was recommended that the General Assembly should set up a permanent committee to watch over the development of the nation's life, especially in relation to moral and

²The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Commission on the War,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1919* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1919), p. 635.

³University of Edinburgh, New College Library, John White Papers, Box 16, Lord Sands, quoted in 'The Mission of National Re-Dedication: After-Impressions' (n.d.).

⁴John White, quoted in *John White* by Augustus Muir (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958), p. 186.

⁵The Church of Scotland, Appendix to the 'Report of the Committee on 'The Life Efficiency of the Church,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1919* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1919), pp. 637-646.

spiritual issues.⁶ John White, the convenor of the new 'Committee on the Church and Nation', clearly recognised the need for the Church to take a more active role in the affairs of the Scottish people. 'The Church,' he noted, 'has sympathy with their desire for justice in a reconstituted society'.⁷

Whilst the Church was seeking to re-orientate itself to the post-war world, many turned elsewhere in order to render war losses bearable. One such response was for mourners to turn to spiritualism. Before 1914 the spiritualist movement was small and ineffectual,⁸ but after the First World War there was a great surge of interest with 309 societies affiliated to the Spiritualists' National Union in 1919, exactly double the pre-war figure.⁹ The attraction of the spiritualist movement lay with its offer of hope to the bereaved: hope that the dead still lived, in a different world, and hope that contact with them could be established.¹⁰ David

⁶The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Commission on the War,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1919* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1919), p. 685.

⁷White, p. 188.

⁸G. K. Nelson, *Spiritualism and Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969), pp. 89-111, 127-148.

⁹David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain,' in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed., Joachim Whaley (London: Europa Publications, 1981), p. 229.

¹⁰Nelson, pp. 136-137.

Cannadine describes the proliferation of interest in spiritualism during this period as 'the private denial of death'.¹¹

In contrast to the individual and spontaneous response to spiritualism, there was the public and ceremonial construction of monuments to the dead and the gradual evolution of the ritual of Armistice Day. J. M. Winter writes of the importance and inevitability of such a collective ritual of mourning. 'The individuality of death,' he notes, 'had been buried under literally millions of corpses.'¹² Here a web of ritual was spun to produce a new equilibrium: to reassure the living, while sacrilizing the past. The ritual of Armistice Day came into being as part of the celebrations arranged for the first anniversary of the guns falling silent along the western front. It stimulated such a response from the British public that it became one of the most dominant rituals in the life of the nation during the inter-war years.¹³

¹¹Cannadine, p. 227.

¹²J. M. Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (London: MacMillan, 1985), p. 305.

¹³Owen Chadwick, 'Armistice Day,' *Theology* 77 (1976), pp. 323-329; Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: S.P.C.K., 1978), pp. 294-310; Richard Garrett, *The Final Betrayal: The Armistice, 1918 ... and Afterwards* (Southampton: Buchan & Enright, 1989), pp. 159-186; A. M. Gregory, *The Silence of Memory. Armistice Day 1919-1939* (Oxford: Berg, 1994).

At a national level, the main ritual of Armistice Day was focused on the Cenotaph at Whitehall and the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior which was sited in Westminster Abbey.¹⁴ The ritual came to be in two parts and was deliberately interdenominational in order to encompass those of all faiths who had died during the war. In the first part of the ritual, the King and Queen arrived in Whitehall and the National Anthem was played. There followed a brief service around the Cenotaph conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury which opened with the singing of the hymn 'O God our help in ages past' and concluded with the recital of the Lord's Prayer. A 'Two Minutes Silence' began at eleven o'clock and ended with the playing of 'The Last Post'; the Silence being expected to be observed in city streets, workplaces and homes throughout the country. The King then placed a wreath at the foot of Cenotaph which was followed by the laying of wreaths by representatives from the services and related organisations.¹⁵ In the second part of the ritual, the Royal Party was taken down Whitehall to the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Abbey where the Archbishop of Canterbury held another short service around the

¹⁴E. Homberger, 'The Story of the Cenotaph,' *Times Literary Supplement*, 12 November 1976, pp. 1429-1430; for a history of the Unknown Warrior, see Ronald Blythe, *The Age of Illusion. England in the Twenties and Thirties 1919-1940* (London: Penguin, 1964), pp. 1-14.

¹⁵'Lest We Forget,' *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 11 November 1920, p. 5.

grave, ending with the sounding of the 'Reveille'.¹⁶ A member of the British Legion described the different symbolism of each ritual:

If there be any distinction between the symbolism of the Cenotaph and that of the Grave of the Unknown Warrior, it is the fact that while the former represents, as an entity, the noble Army of those who died for their country, the latter represents one individual and the mystery as to whose son he was makes him the son and brother of us all.

The Cenotaph, it may be said, is the token of our memory as a nation; the Grave of the Unknown Warrior is the token of our mourning as individuals.¹⁷

In the immediate post-war years the impact of these ceremonies was dramatic. For many days queues of the bereaved formed to place wreaths at the Cenotaph and to file past the Tomb. In 1920 alone it was estimated that 1.25 million people passed the Cenotaph in London. The events were spoken of in terms of a national pilgrimage.¹⁸ In 1921 the sale of Flanders Poppies was instituted by the British Legion which emerged as the sole ex-serviceman's organisation.¹⁹

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Herbert Jeans, 'In Death's Cathedral Place. The Story of the Unknown Warrior,' *British Legion Journal*, November 1929, p. 118.

¹⁸'The National Pilgrimage,' *The Times*, 19 November 1920, p. 10; Blythe, p. 20.

¹⁹George Malcolm, *"We Will Remember". Historical Record of the British Legion Scotland* (Edinburgh: The British Legion Scotland, 1959), pp. 1-9; Venetia Newall, 'Armistice Day: Folk Tradition in an English Festival of Remembrance,' *Folklore* 87 (1976), pp. 226-229.

At a local level, the Armistice Day ritual was centred around the many war memorials that sprung up in towns and villages throughout the country. There had been war memorials after previous wars, notably the Boer War, but not on the scale that was to be seen after 1918. The sheer number of the casualties, the decision not to repatriate the British war dead and the fact that so many of the victims were wartime volunteers rather than regulars, combined to ensure that for the first time war memorials were erected spontaneously by families and communities throughout Britain, and that the dead were remembered not only as soldiers but also as citizens. These memorials tended to be sited either at some central civic position or within churches and churchyards. Yet regardless of where they were erected, they were seen as sacred objects, with inscriptions and iconography forming a significant part of their design and meaning.²⁰ Examples of Scottish war memorials include the cairn with cross and tablet erected on St. Boswell's Green, the bronze statue of a lone soldier unveiled in Dornoch, the sculpted battle scene featured in Kelvingrove Park, Glasgow, and the memorial building constructed in the style of the sixteenth century at Edinburgh castle as the

²⁰Catherine Moriarty, 'Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials,' *Imperial War Museum Review* 6 (1991), pp. 63-65, 70.

Scottish National War Memorial.²¹

The local Armistice Day rituals were similar in form to the ceremony which took place at the Cenotaph in Whitehall. They generally included a religious service around the local war memorial or sometimes in a local Church, a 'Two Minutes Silence', the playing of the 'The Last Post' and the 'Reveille', and the laying of wreaths.²² During the 1920s the language of remembrance was still largely jingoistic. 'Today, through all our tribute to our beloved dead,' noted *The Scotsman* of Armistice Day in 1922, 'the note of thankfulness again rose for all that they were able to do for our country and for the freedom of the world.'²³

During the 1920s and 1930s the remembrance ritual came to reflect the political, social and cultural developments of these years. Although there was a short lived post-war boom, in 1921-22 industrial production slumped alarmingly and this brought widespread unemployment in the heavy industries in Scotland.²⁴ In

²¹Derek Boorman, *At the Going Down of the Sun. British First World War Memorials* (York: William Sessions, 1988), pp. 48, 63, 161; University of Edinburgh, New College Library, 'Album of War Memorials,' vols. 1, 2, 1921.

²²'Day of Remembrance,' *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 11 November 1921, p. 5; 'Armistice Day', *The Scotsman*, 13 November 1922.

²³'Impressive Observance in Edinburgh,' *The Scotsman*, 13 November 1922, p. 6.

²⁴Charles Loch Mowat, *Britain Between the Wars 1918-1940* (London: Methuen, 1955), pp. 125-126.

1921, The Rev. Charles Warr recalled of his first parish:

Greenock, like everywhere else on the Clyde, was terribly hit. Unemployment was widespread and poverty among the unemployed was desperate. Emigration began on an alarming scale. From my windows at the manse I used to watch with a heavy heart the great ships passing down the river, carrying away across the Atlantic the best artisan blood in Scotland. The unity of the nation, which had been cemented during the war, broke up. Class division has never been more bitter. The world of industry was seething with unrest. Crisis followed crisis.²⁵

In response, public unrest voiced its protest at the moment in the life of the nation when it would be heard most starkly: the 'Two Minutes Silence' of Armistice Day. In 1921 a group of unemployed sang the 'Red Flag' during the ceremony in Dundee which aroused such public indignation at the disruption of a 'sacred occasion' that even the *Yorkshire Post* printed the story.²⁶ In 1922, 25,000 unemployed from all over the Britain joined the official ceremony in London, carrying at their head a large wreath inscribed: 'From the Living victims - the unemployed - to our dead comrades, who died in vain.'²⁷

Interestingly, Armistice Day was used as an opportunity for the chauvinistic spirit of the war years to be evoked as a means of dampening domestic turmoil. During the

²⁵Charles L. Warr, *The Glimmering Landscape* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1960), p. 119.

²⁶'Gross Sacrilege: Communist Insult to Dead Heroes,' *Dundee Advertiser*, 12 November 1921, p. 1; Gregory, p. 46.

²⁷W. Hannington, *Unemployed Struggles 1919-1936* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1935), p. 16.

general strike of 1926 *The Edinburgh Evening News* reported that the day of national deliverance had been touched by a sense of shame. 'Let them hope,' it was noted, 'that some spirit of mutual understanding and conciliation would be born of the silence that day.'²⁸

From the mid 1920s, the Church began to hold special Remembrance Day services on the Sunday before Armistice Day as a means of reinforcing the Christian message of commemoration.²⁹ By the late 1920s, however, growing disenchantment with the memory of the war had important implications for remembrance. The process of disenchantment was characterised by the publication of a range of broadly anti-war literature of which R. C. Sheriff's *Journey's End*, Robert Graves's *Goodbye to All That*, Siegfried Sassoon's *Memoirs of an Infantry Officer* and Wilfred Owen's *Poems of Wilfred Owen* are enduring legacies. In Scotland, Charles Hamilton Sorley's *Marlborough and Other Poems*, W. D. Cocker's *Poems, Scots and English*, Hugh MacDiarmid's *Second Hymn to Lenin and Other Poems* and Lewis Grassie Gibbon's *The Scots Quair*

²⁸'In St Giles' Cathedral. Hallowed Memories Amid Domestic Strife,' *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 11 November 1926, p. 9.

²⁹The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Nation,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1926* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1926), p.602; Ibid., 'Report of the Committee on Public Worship and Aids to Devotion,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1932* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1932), pp. 974-5.

conformed to this pattern.³⁰ This canon of work created what Samuel Hynes describes as 'The Myth of the War': for some people the old jingoistic and heroic rhetoric of the war had been emptied of its meaning and value, and the futility of the war was revealed in plain and physical description.³¹

The implications of this changing attitude to the war became apparent when the Labour government decided in 1929 to reduce the number of troops parading at the Cenotaph. It was felt that the ritual needed a more civilian focus and a less militaristic one.³² The focus of Armistice Day was thus to centre more firmly on the consolation of the bereaved, and the death of their loved ones was rationalised in terms of the establishment of peace as opposed to the virtues of national loyalty and duty.³³ By 1932, *The Glasgow Herald* noted this change in attitude: 'Gradually the influence of the new generation is transforming Armistice Day into a sacrament of resolve and a dedication to the ideals of peace.'³⁴

³⁰Trevor Royle, ed., *In Flanders Fields. Scottish Poetry and Prose of the First World War* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1990), pp. 16-26.

³¹Samuel Hynes, *A War Imagined. The First World War and English Culture* (London: Pimlico, 1990), pp. 423-463.

³²*Parliamentary Debates* (Commons), 5th series, vol. 231 (1929-30), cols. 318-319.

³³Gregory, pp. 75-84.

³⁴'The Changing Armistice,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 11 November 1932, p. 12.

The ideals of peace which Armistice Day now promoted were set against the Wall Street crash and the onset of the great depression of the 1930s. In Scotland the unemployment rate reached 26% in 1931-33 and in some towns in Lanarkshire and on Clydeside more than half the total population was unemployed.³⁵ In response, the Church and Nation Committee stated that:

... the mere reiteration of Christian principles is not enough. We must work out the practical implications of these principles, and, if we cannot formulate them into a programme, we can at least indicate the direction in which they are to be realised.³⁶

However, whilst the Committee criticised the level of means tested unemployment benefit, it provided no real solution to the problem of unemployment.³⁷ In explaining the depression, the emphasis was placed on spiritual factors and it was considered that unemployment was as much the result of the moral failings of the individual as it was of the government.³⁸ It is not surprising, therefore, that many regarded the Church as having little

³⁵D. C. Smith, *Passive Obedience and Prophetic Protest: Social Criticism in the Scottish Church 1830-1945* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987), p. 369.

³⁶The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Nation,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1933* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1933), p. 459.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 460.

³⁸The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Nation,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1932* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1932), pp. 506, 508.

or nothing to offer in the way of prophetic leadership during this period.

The depression at home was accompanied by growing tensions abroad and in 1933 Adolf Hitler assumed power in a resurgent Germany. Meanwhile, in response to the First World War an influential pacifist movement grew up and Armistice Day became not just a commemoration of those who had died in the cause of peace, but an opportunity for some to denounce war. In 1934 demonstrators marched through Glasgow carrying placards bearing anti-war slogans and attended a meeting near George Square where a resolution condemning war and urging peace throughout the world was moved and adopted.³⁹ In 1937, at the official Armistice Day ceremony in London, an ex-serviceman interrupted proceedings by pushing his way through the crowd and shouting during the 'Two Minutes Silence': 'All this is hypocrisy. You are deliberately preparing for war.' The man was bundled away by the police and said to be suffering from 'delusions'.⁴⁰

It is also interesting to note that a prominent feature of Armistice Day in the inter-war years in Edinburgh was the participation of members of the local Italian Fascist Club in the parade to the annual remembrance ceremony at

³⁹'Peace Demonstration in Glasgow,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 12 November 1934, p. 8.

⁴⁰'Regrettable Incident During the Silence,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 12 November 1937, p. 15.

the Unknown Warrior's grave. Italy had been an ally of Britain during the First World War and each year twenty or so members of the Club dressed up in black shirts, fez and white gloves and were given pride of place in the parade just behind the military contingent. One year, it is said, some women's groups objected to the Italians parading ahead of the British civilians, but the official in charge, Colonel Robertson VC, insisted that they should have precedence because they were considered to be guests.⁴¹

Despite extending this hand of friendship, Armistice Day did provide an opportunity to stiffen the resolve of the nation as war became ever more likely. After the Munich crisis of 1938, *The Edinburgh Evening News* reported that the people were united in having learned to hate war, but that did not mean that they were prepared to live out their lives in the present dangerous world. 'There was room in the world,' it was noted, 'only for brave hearts that would serve and if need be sacrifice without whining.'⁴² In 1939 the nation was compelled to call on the 'brave hearts'.

⁴¹Ian MacDougall, *Voices from War: Personal Recollections of War in our Century by Scottish Men and Women* (Edinburgh: The Mercat Press, 1995), p. 304. It should be noted that the members of the Italian Fascist Club tended not to be ideological fascists, but joined the Club for its social events.

⁴²'After Twenty Years,' *The Edinburgh Evening News*, 11 November 1938, p. 11.

In many ways, Armistice Day had an important pastoral role to play in the life of the nation during the inter-war years. During these years it was felt that the Church had turned its back on the people. In his autobiography, Ronnie Falconer, quoted one spokesman at a workers' meeting in Glasgow as saying: 'If we think nothin' o' yer Kirk, mister, that's no tae say we think nothin' o' yer Jesus.'⁴³ Describing the position of the Church on the eve of the Second World War, Ronald Ferguson observed:

... although it still wielded symbolic power, and although its rhetoric presupposed business as usual, it no longer occupied central ground. It had been quietly shunted off to a siding marked 'religion', a quiet place for those who liked that sort of thing. A long-term casualty of the First World War, which it had uncritically and even jingoistically supported, it now commanded the allegiance of a minority.⁴⁴

Armistice Day rituals served not only to fill in part of the spiritual void left by the Church after the First World War, but also to act as a rite of passage for the bereaved and as means of reintegrating ex-servicemen into the life of the nation. They further came to reflect not only the jingoism but also the pacifism of the inter-war years. For those that had suffered a loss, however, this was not always a comforting trend: in the early 1920s at least it could be said that a soldier had died for his

⁴³Ronnie Falconer, *The Kilt Beneath my Cassock* (Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, 1978), p. 51.

⁴⁴Ronald Ferguson, *George MacLeod. Founder of the Iona Community* (London: Collins, 1990), p. 128.

country; in the early 1930s it could still be said that he had died in the cause of peace; but when war loomed in 1939 it was not altogether clear to some what he had died for.

(B) The life of the nation and the Church during the Second World War.

When Britain declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939, the announcement coincided with most Sunday morning Church services. Charles Warr recalls that 'a messenger from police headquarters came across to St Giles half-way through the morning service, informing me that the war had been declared. In the middle of my address the sirens sounded.'⁴⁵ That same Sunday evening, 200 miles west of the Hebrides, the Glasgow liner *Athenia* was torpedoed and sunk by a U-boat. At the end of September 1939, the naval base at Rosyth in the Forth was raided by German bombers.⁴⁶ Hence, the reality of war struck the nation with force.

To an even greater extent than the First World War, the Second World War demanded a sweeping mobilisation of the nation's resources to assist the war effort. Indeed, in important respects this war was to be more total than the First. Whilst the experience of human loss on the

⁴⁵Warr, pp. 230-231.

⁴⁶Lynch, p. 436.

battlefield was as painful as ever, this time the civilian population was also in the frontline. This was highlighted during the grim reality of the Blitz, when in March 1941, Clydebank was subjected to a raid by 200 German bombers and only eight out of a total of 12,000 houses were left untouched.⁴⁷ The close-knit community around the shipyards never recovered. Although other cities in Scotland largely escaped the traumas experienced in Clydebank and in the Midlands and the south-east of England, they still lived with the constant threat of air raids. In a very real sense the war came home to the people of Scotland.

During the years of the Second World War the official Armistice Day ceremonies were suspended and the national 'Two Minutes Silence' was made impractical because of the war conditions.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, small ceremonies were conducted around local war memorials and services of remembrance were held in churches on the Sunday nearest to Armistice Day.⁴⁹

In the meantime, the Church of Scotland's Church and Nation Committee did display a certain restraint in its

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸'Armistice Day Commemoration. Tributes Paid Despite Absence of Official Ceremonies,' *The Scotsman*, 13 November 1939, p. 9.

⁴⁹Gregory, pp, 172-173; The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on Church and Nation,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1939* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1939), p. 543.

attitude towards the war. In line with the determined but sombre mood of the people, its report for 1940 emphasised that whilst war as a means of settling disputes was contrary to the mind and spirit of Christ, Germany's persistent policy of armed aggression and its threat to overthrow the ultimate values of liberty, justice and truth left Britain with no choice but to act in order to 'advance the purposes of the Most High in a stricken and chaotic and sinful world.'⁵⁰ Moreover, some well-known Scottish churchmen, such as the Rev. George Macleod, Dr Archibald Craig and the Rev. William Smellie took a clear pacifist line throughout the war.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the language of jingoism was never far away. In his remembrance sermon in 1939, Dr. Charles Warr, the minister of St. Giles, noted that 'this is no time for doctrinaire argument or academic pacifism.' 'We are,' he added, 'at war to defend and retain that liberty which was purchased and preserved for us by our gallant dead.'⁵²

Whilst elements within the Church responded with a familiar chauvinism to the outbreak of war, the Church

⁵⁰The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on Church and Nation,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1940* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1940), p. 398.

⁵¹Warr, pp. 186-187; Elizabeth Templeton, *God's February: A Life of Archie Craig 1888-1985* (London: BCC/CCBI, 1991), pp. 148-156.

⁵²St. Giles' Cathedral Archive, St. Giles Chronicles, vol. 28, 1937-1940, 'Dr Warr's Address,' p. 152.

sought to regain its role in the life of the nation. In line with the demands of the 'people's war', which required all to participate in the war effort and accept equality of sacrifice, the Church responded in a practical way through its work carried out at home and overseas by the Committee on Huts and Canteens.⁵³ Perhaps more profoundly, however, in 1940 the General Assembly appointed a special 'Commission for the Interpretation of God's Will in the Present Crisis'. Under the convenorship of Professor John Baillie, the Commission's remit was to study the implications of the war for the religious life of the nation and various sub-committees were set up to examine Church life and organisation, education, marriage and the family, and social and industrial life.⁵⁴ Between 1941 and 1945 the Commission produced five reports, three of which were published: *God's Will in our Time; The Church Faces the Future; Home, Community and Church.*⁵⁵

In its analysis of the challenges that faced the Church, the Commission clearly recognised the Church's past failings:

It cannot be denied that during a period when the crying injustices of the existing order were

⁵³Warr, p. 346.

⁵⁴John Baillie, *God's Will for Church and Nation* (London: SCM Press, 1946), p. 7.

⁵⁵Ibid.

being brought prominently into the light, the Church as a whole seemed content to leave this task either to those outside its fellowship or to isolated voices within, instead of providing the necessary volume of righteous and enlightened zeal.⁵⁶

However, in trying to re-create a role for the Church in community life, the Commission established its work around the fundamental principle that 'there is no problem of the civil polity from which the Church can afford to stand entirely aside as a disinterested spectator.'⁵⁷ Indeed, the work of the Commission, as Duncan Forrester and Donald Smith have pointed out, played a significant role in the development of economic and social reform during the war and the easing of the nation towards social democracy in the post-war era.⁵⁸ 'In short,' notes Forrester, 'the Commission mobilised a denomination, and much Christian opinion outside that denomination, behind fairly specific policies and proposals for legislation, and provided these proposals with a Christian and theological rationale.'⁵⁹ There are some who dispute the significance of the Church's role in this process. A. C. Cheyne, for example, argues that the Church 'reflected rather than shaped the most influential

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 34.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 38.

⁵⁸Duncan B. Forrester, *Christianity and the Future of Welfare* (London: Epworth Press, 1985), pp. 38-43; Smith, pp. 373-383.

⁵⁹Forrester, p. 41.

thinking of the nation.'⁶⁰ Forrester, however, maintains that, 'while it may seldom be possible to trace specific Christian influence on policy there is little doubt that there was such an influence.'⁶¹ 'The development of the welfare state,' he adds, 'was one of the rather few instances when Christian social thinking can be shown to have had a significance impact on the way things go in Britain.'⁶²

Whilst the Church was trying to increase its involvement in national life, its relationship with the state continued, however, to be reflected in jingoistic attitudes to the war. The Order of Service issued by the General Assembly's Committee on Public Worship and Aids to Devotion for Remembrance Sunday during the Second World War - an Order of Service that was to be used throughout the war - thanked God, for example, for 'the good and pleasant land in which we dwell', and called upon Him to assist those 'seeking to uphold the cause of their country' and to make them 'good soldiers for Jesus Christ' and 'King and Country'.⁶³ In the meantime, the minister of St. Giles, Dr Warr, implored the

⁶⁰A. C. Cheyne, *The Transformation of the Kirk* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrews Press, 1983), pp. 192-3.

⁶¹Forrester, p. 42.

⁶²Ibid., p. 43.

⁶³University of Edinburgh, New College Library, 'Services during the Second World War' folder, 'Order for the Day of Remembrance and National Dedication, 9th November 1941,' pp. 4, 6-7.

congregation during his service of remembrance in 1941 to 'remember with gratitude the heritage purchased for us by those who freely gave their lives for love of country, hearth and home, and from whose dead hands had passed the patriot's torch to their succeeding race.'⁶⁴ At the service in 1943, Warr even evoked the spirit of Rupert Brooke - and in so doing downplayed the role of his fellow Scots - by announcing that there were now new corners of the earth which were 'for ever England'.⁶⁵

Once again, therefore, during the war years the Church did much to promote a sense of national duty, but there was little said about the bereaved or about God's role in the unprecedented slaughter that was taking place in Europe and elsewhere. Scotland of course had its human loss and grief to bear once again, but in the heartland of Europe an entire race had all but been exterminated.

(C) The aftermath of the Second World War and the impact on the community and on the individual.

Germany's unconditional surrender was formally announced by the Prime Minister to the House of Commons on 8 May, 1945. Although British military casualties were not as great as during the First World War, they were

⁶⁴St Giles' Cathedral Archive, St Giles Chronicles, vol. 29, 1941-1948, 'Inspiration of the Past,' p. 22.

⁶⁵St. Giles' Cathedral Archive, St Giles Chronicles, vol. 29, 1941-1948, 'Address by Dr C. L. Warr,' p. 91.

nonetheless severe. According to J. M. Winter 264,000 were killed and 277,000 wounded.⁶⁶ Within this total, 57,683 Scots were killed.⁶⁷ Furthermore, 60,000 British civilians died in the bombing and 80,000 seriously wounded.⁶⁸ In two nights in Clydebanks alone, 1,200 Scots were killed.⁶⁹ Alongside this, the horrors of the concentration camps filled the thoughts of the people as news filtered through from Europe.⁷⁰ In the words of David Cannadine, 'if the shadow of death was lightened at a personal level *despite* the Second World War, it was intensified at a global level *because* of it.'⁷¹

For some, it was possible to argue that British losses had been sustained for a better cause than during the First World War. To begin with, the principal objective for which Britain had fought – the destruction of Nazi fascism – seemed far more worthwhile in relation to the territorial squabbles between the ruling houses of Europe

⁶⁶J. M. Winter, 'The Demographic Consequences of the War,' in *War and Social Change: British Society in the Second World War*, ed., Harold L. Smith (London: Manchester University Press, 1986), p. 163.

⁶⁷I am grateful to the Scottish United Services Museum for providing me with these statistics.

⁶⁸Rex Pope, *War and Society in Britain 1899–1948* (London: MacMillan, 1986), p. 5.

⁶⁹Lynch, p. 436.

⁷⁰'4,000,000 Died in One Camp,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 7 May 1945, p. 3.

⁷¹Cannadine, p. 235.

with which the previous war was now associated.⁷² Moreover, the British people were inspired by a vision of a better and fairer society after the disappointments of inter-war years, and promises of a welfare state held out the hope that the 'people's war' would be followed by a 'people's peace'.⁷³

Nevertheless, the war brought little change in the general attitude towards grief and mourning. 'Once more,' observes Cannadine, 'the angel of death appeared, and in a guise which closely resembled the outfit she had worn a generation earlier.'⁷⁴ Indeed, investigations into the attitudes of those who fought in the Second World War reveal the same complexity of feelings as those who fought in the previous war, in terms of witnessing the death of others and confronting the prospect of their own death: grief, compassion, anguish, fear, callousness, indifference and guilt.⁷⁵ For those at home who lost relatives or close friends, there was also the same sense of numbness and separation - made more immediate in some cases by the death raining down from the skies above them - and in line with established precedent, the fallen were

⁷²Henry Pelling, *Britain and the Second World War* (London: Fontana, 1970), p. 273.

⁷³Pope, pp. 79-83.

⁷⁴Cannadine, p. 232.

⁷⁵R. Grinkler and J. Speigel, *Men Under Stress* (London: J. & A. Churchill, 1945), pp. 25, 33-35, 113-117, 360-363.

not returned to these shores.⁷⁶ Once again, a bond on bereavement united the Scottish people.

(D) The response of the Church and the nation in the aftermath of the Second World War.

When the fighting ended in Europe celebrations took place throughout the country: street parties were held, flags were waved, bonfires were lit, pipe bands played while people danced in the streets and Church bells were rung throughout towns and cities.⁷⁷ But not everyone felt like celebrating, as one woman from Glasgow described: 'Maw and I did not feel like going up to town and joining in the junketing. We were still stunned at the speed with which the war had ended and it seemed more a time for quiet thought and thankfulness.'⁷⁸

To accompany the secular celebrations, the Church of Scotland made arrangements for religious services to be

⁷⁶Norman Longmate, *The Home Front: An Anthology of Personal Experience 1938-1945* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1981), pp. 219-230.

⁷⁷'Joy Confined. How City Received VE-Day News,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 8 May 1945, p. 3.

⁷⁸Enid Innes-Ker; quoted in Ben Wicks, *Welcome Home. True Stories of Soldiers Returning Home from World War II* (London: Bloomsbury, 1991), p. 45.

held throughout the country,⁷⁹ and on V.E day a service was held at Mercat Cross. Although Lord Provost Falconer thanked God for His care and protection during the war and prayed for the dead and the bereaved,⁸⁰ the minister of St. Giles, Dr Warr, once more struck a jingoistic note. Remembering his Scottish roots on this occasion, he compared the event to the moment of triumph back in 1588 when his predecessor, Mr Robert Bruce, had informed those gathered together of 'the break' of the Spanish armada.⁸¹

In response to a request from the King, the Sunday following VE day was announced as a 'Day of Thanksgiving and Prayer' and the King and Queen attended a national service of thanksgiving at St. Paul's Cathedral in London.⁸² On the same day, services were held throughout Scotland and attended by large congregations. A chauvinistic flavour was, however, given to these occasions by various victory parades held in many cities – about 3000 people, for instance, were involved in each

⁷⁹The Church of Scotland, 'Report on the Committee on Aids to Devotion,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1945* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1945), p. 440; Scottish Record Office, Presbytery of Edinburgh Minute Book, CH2/121/62, 'Arrangements for Victory Thanksgiving Services, May 1945, p. 335.

⁸⁰St. Giles' Cathedral Archive, St. Giles Chronicles, vol. 29, 1941-1948, 'VE Day Rejoicings in Edinburgh,' p. 126.

⁸¹Warr, p. 233.

⁸²'National Thanksgiving Sunday,' *The Scotsman*, 14 May 1945, p. 5; 'Royal Family and Premiere at St. Paul's,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 14 May 1945, p. 4.

of the official parades in Glasgow and in Edinburgh.⁸³ It was in this light that a national service of thanksgiving in Scotland was organised in St Giles' Cathedral for 16 May.⁸⁴

2. The Ritual Act.

The first indication that a national service was to be held in Edinburgh after the Second World War was the announcement in the press that King George and Queen Elizabeth were to travel to Edinburgh to join in the victory celebrations and to attend a thanksgiving service in St Giles' Cathedral.⁸⁵ The visit was to feature a number of civic events and include the presentation of the keys of the city of Edinburgh to the King on his arrival in the city, and a civic lunch in the City Chambers following the service.⁸⁶ As there is no record to the contrary, it can be assumed that the Rev. Dr Charles Warr, minister of St Giles' Cathedral, Dean of the Chapel Royal and a former Argyll and Sutherland Highlander officer who was wounded in the previous war,

⁸³'Victory Parade and Services,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 14 May 1945, p. 3; '3000 March past in Glasgow Victory Parade,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 14 May 1945, p. 4.

⁸⁴'Solemn Thanksgiving Service in St Giles' Cathedral,' *The Scotsman*, 17 May 1945, p. 4.

⁸⁵'Royal Visit,' *The Scotsman*, 11 May 1945, p. 4.

⁸⁶'Scotland Prays with the King in Thanksgiving,' *The Bulletin*, 17 May 1945, p. 1; 'Scotland's Great Welcome to King and Queen,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 17 May 1945, p. 6.

was responsible for planning the service.⁸⁷

The newspaper publicity prior to the service concentrated chiefly on the details of the route to be taken by the royal family on their eighteen mile drive through the city en route to the Cathedral, rather than on the service itself. The press simply announced that a national thanksgiving service, attended by the Royal Family, would take place in St Giles' Cathedral on 16 May 1945 as part of the Royal visit.⁸⁸ Thus, from the outset the service was portrayed more as a royal event rather than a religious ceremony to mark the end of a war.⁸⁹

Moreover, on the day of the national service the whole city was in gala mood and dress. As the Royal Party made its way from the station, soldiers of the Grenadier, Scots, Irish, Welsh and Coldstream Guards ceremonially lined the streets, crowds cheered, flags were waved, church bells rang out and bands played military music. In the meantime, a great civic procession of representatives from all walks of Scottish public life had made its way

⁸⁷There is no record in St. Giles' Cathedral's Archive, the Head Office of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh City Chambers' Archive, or the Scottish Record Office of any discussions between Dr Warr and the government over the planning of the service.

⁸⁸'Joy Confined. How City Recieved VE-Day News,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 8 May 1945, p. 3; 'Royal Visit. Drive Round Edinburgh in Programme,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 10 May 1945, p. 3; 'Royal Visit,' *The Scotsman*, 11 May 1945, p. 4; 'Their Majesties' Visit,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 15 May 1945, p. 3.

⁸⁹'Royal Visit,' *The Scotsman*, 11 May 1945, p. 4.

into the Cathedral to the music of the allied nations,⁹⁰ and on arrival at St Giles the King inspected a guard of honour which was composed of members from the three Services. This was believed to be the first occasion on which the three Services had provided a combined guard of honour at any Royal ceremonial parade.⁹¹ There was clearly a mood of jingoism in the air.

Having considered the broad context in which the service was introduced to the public, it is important to turn our attention to the service itself and give a description of the ritual act. Following the inspection outside St. Giles, the Royal Family made their way to the West Door of the Cathedral where they were greeted by Charles Warr who was to conduct the national service with the assistance of the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Rev. Dr E. J. Hagan, and the minister of Glasgow Cathedral, the Rev. Dr A. Neville Davidson. The Royal party then processed into the Cathedral, headed by the Lord Lyon King of Arms, Sir Francis J. Grant, and the Heralds and Pursuivants. Their Majesties and Princesses were accompanied by the officiating clergy, the Lord Provost Falconer, the Secretary of State for Scotland, Lord Rosebery, and the senior Navy, Army and R.A.F. officers. The procession

⁹⁰'Cheering Crowds Line the Streets. Scotland Gives Thanks at St. Giles' Cathedral,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 16 May 1945, p. 3.

⁹¹'Edinburgh's Great Welcome,' *The Evening Dispatch*, 16 May 1945, p. 1.

moved along the centre aisle to the chancel steps to music from Elgar's 'Pomp and Circumstance'. After the King and Queen had taken their seats in the Royal Pew, the service opened with the singing of Psalm 124, 'Now Israel may say'.⁹²

After the Psalm, the Rev. Dr A. Neville Davidson offered the opening prayer which concluded with the Lord's Prayer. The congregation then sang the Prose Psalm, 126, 'When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion.'⁹³ This was followed by the Scripture lessons, Isaiah 25: 1-8 and Revelation 22: 1-5 which were read the Very Rev. Dr James Black, minister of St George's West Church, Edinburgh. The congregation then stood and the Choir sang verses from Lawrence Binyon's poem 'For the Fallen', ending with the lines 'At the going down of the sun and in the morning we will remember them,' set to Elgar's music 'With Proud Thanksgiving.'⁹⁴

Following the Choir's hymn of remembrance, there was a Prayer of Thanksgiving and Intercession, and the hymn 'God of our Fathers, known of old,' was sung by the

⁹²'Solemn Thanksgiving Service in St Giles' Cathedral,' *The Scotsman*, 17 May 1945, p. 4.

⁹³St. Giles' Cathedral, St Giles Chronicles, vol. 29, 1941-1948, 'St Giles' Cathedral. Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God for Victory in Europe. Wednesday, 16th May 1945' [hereafter Appendix 2], p. 242.

⁹⁴'Solemn Thanksgiving Service in St Giles' Cathedral,' *The Scotsman*, 17 May 1945, p. 4.

congregation.⁹⁵ Charles Warr then gave the address from the pulpit. After the sermon, the congregation sang the hymn, 'Now thank we all our God'. The Benediction was then pronounced by the Rt. Rev. Dr E. J. Hagan, after which the congregation remained standing for silent prayer. At the close of the service, the National Anthem was sung. Their Majesties then left the Cathedral, the congregation remaining in their places until the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town Council, the College of Justice, the Presbytery of Edinburgh, the University Representatives and other official processions had retired.⁹⁶

3. The Ritual Functions.

(A) The political function.

(i) A functionalist analysis.

Building on the work of Durkheim, Geertz and Bocock, the functionalist view sees ritual as maintaining the dominant values of society and again this was evident in the national service after the Second World War. Primarily, the planning of the service was surrounded by a good deal of civic ceremony. As we have seen, the King was presented with the keys to Edinburgh on his arrival

⁹⁵Appendix 2, p. 243.

⁹⁶'Cheering Crowds Line the Streets. Scotland Gives Thanks at St Giles' Cathedral,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 16 May 1945, p. 3.

in the city; he was preceeded into St. Giles by a civic procession of local notables; he was required to inspect a guard of honour before entering the Cathedral; and after the service the royal party attended a civic lunch in the City Chambers. Indeed, *The Bulletin* described the whole occasion as 'the greatest day of ceremonial and pageantry for six years.'⁹⁷ This again served to identify the ritual with the existing governing elite.

Furthermore, the jingoistic theme of British greatness was a strong feature of the service. Again, this was implicit in the attendance of the Royal Family and key members of state. Moreover, in his sermon, Dr Warr paid special tribute to the role of the King in the nation's war effort:

More than five years ago, when things were at their blackest, a certain broadcast message was given to our people which brought them, at a time when they needed it most, a comfort far greater perhaps than the speaker ever knew. The speaker was our King. Only two days ago a soldier referring to the broadcast, told me how on many occasions he had remembered its words as he literally had to go out into the darkness, anxiously thinking of his dear ones, and himself facing jeopardy and death. 'And I knew,' he added, 'the help they were to others as they were to myself.' None of us has forgotten that message.⁹⁸

⁹⁷'Scotland Prays with the King in Thanksgiving,' *The Bulletin*, 17 May 1945, p. 1.

⁹⁸National Library of Scotland, the Rev. Dr Charles L. Warr's Private Papers, 'Sermon for VE National Thanksgiving Service, St Giles. Wednesday 16 May, 1945', Box 11, p. 2. [hereafter Appendix 2], p. 250.

Indeed, in some ways the service was seen as more of a unique royal occasion than a religious event. 'It was the first time,' noted *The Glasgow Herald*, 'that Their Majesties and the Princesses had worshipped together in St Giles.'⁹⁹

The idea of British greatness was further reinforced by the theme of thanksgiving for victory. The title of the service was a 'Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God for Victory in Europe', and this was clear from the outset of the service which opened with the congregation singing Psalm 124, 'Now Israel may say, and that truly'. In the same way as the Israelites offered this Psalm as a thanksgiving to God for their deliverance from the hand of their enemies, so the congregation in St Giles offered the Psalm as a hymn of praise for the victory over their own foes.¹⁰⁰ Indeed, *The Glasgow Herald* described the national service as the 'climax to Scotland's victory celebrations'.¹⁰¹

The mood of British greatness was further enhanced by the music played as the Royal Family processed into St. Giles. Again, there was no solemn music such as Chopin's 'Funeral March' or 'The Dead March' in Saul. Rather, the

⁹⁹'Scotland's Great Welcome to King and Queen,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 17 May 1945, p. 6.

¹⁰⁰Appendix 2, p. 242.

¹⁰¹'Scotland's Great Welcome to King and Queen,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 17 May 1945, p. 6.

service began with the playing of the Air from Elgar's 'Pomp and Circumstance,' a classic chauvinist piece.¹⁰² In many ways, equal weight was not being given to the concepts of thanksgiving and remembrance.

With the emphasis on the greatness of the British nation, it might be argued, once again, that the national service was built around a concern for the nation state rather than the worship of God. Certainly, thanks was given first and foremost to God in the service. At the bottom of the title page of the order of service was printed an extract from Psalm 118, 'This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes.'¹⁰³ Following the call to worship, Psalm 126 recognised that 'The Lord Hath done great things whence joy to us is brought' and the reading from Isaiah 25: 1-8 was an Israelite song of thanksgiving to God for his concern for the weak and helpless and included 'Oh Lord, thou art my God; I will exalt thee, I will praise thy name; for thou hast done marvellous things.'¹⁰⁴ The final hymn was 'Now thank we all our God with heart and hands and voices.'¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, in view of the suggestion of British greatness, the distinction between the nation and God was once more

¹⁰²'Solemn Thanksgiving. Service in St Giles' Cathedral,' *The Scotsman* 17 May 1945, p. 4.

¹⁰³Appendix 2, p. 241.

¹⁰⁴Psalm 126: 3; Isaiah 25: 1.

¹⁰⁵Appendix 2, p. 244.

blurred.

In analysing the functionalist aspects of the national service, the fact that the theme of national greatness was stronger than remembrance would suggest that the ritual would again not correspond to Warner's work on the civic ritual of American Memorial Day. Certainly, on this occasion it seems that no wreath was laid during the service as a symbol of sacrifice and an appeal to an 'ancient' warrior tradition, and there was also no mention of a martyr's death equated with the saints. However, aspects of the national service did conform more closely to Warner's ideas than that apparent in the service after the previous war. To this end, the idea of the noble sacrifice of the war dead and the debt owed by the living to the dead was a central theme in Dr Warr's sermon. In his address, he made specific reference to 'the sacrifice of the flower of our race,' who 'twice in a generation' had protected Britain's 'civil and religious freedom' and 'redeemed' it from an enemy.¹⁰⁶ In many ways, Warr was relating the sacrifice of those who lost their lives in two World Wars with the sacrifice of Christ, and was indicating that the living had a spiritual obligation to fulfil as a direct result of the sacrifice of those who died in war. 'We have a great duty to perform and a great task to fulfil,' he declared. 'The

¹⁰⁶Appendix 2, pp. 247, 249.

measure of our gratitude will be judged by the measure of our resolve to dedicate our country and ourselves anew to God's service.'¹⁰⁷ In the national service, therefore, it could be argued that those who died in war became powerful sacred symbols which promoted the ideals of all that was great and good about Britain.

Interesting insights into the functionalist aspect of the ritual in the national service can also be gained from Robert Bellah's work on American civil religion. Certainly, in contrast to the national service after the First World War, the idea of 'positive nationalism' was a stronger feature of the service. To begin with, the service evoked a sense of national belonging through the inclusion of such Psalms as 124, some of whose lines had evoked such strong images of Scottish myth and history on the part of Dr Norman MacLean when he had described the equivalent service some twenty-five years earlier. Indeed, *The Bulletin* noted that 'the mighty voice of the great congregation swelled in magnificent chorus for all Scotland, in psalms and hymns that have sung Scotland's thanksgiving for generations.'¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, this sense of national belonging was a theme of Charles Warr's sermon and he pleaded for the congregation to maintain the strong spirit of community

¹⁰⁷Appendix 2, pp. 246, 249.

¹⁰⁸'Scotland Prays with the King in Thanksgiving,' *The Bulletin*, 17 May 1945, p. 1.

and interdependence which had developed in the country during the years of the war: 'Will we,' he asked, 'carry that sense of unity, that family feeling, with us as we return to the workaday world?'¹⁰⁹ He urged that that unity should be utilised in the service of God's laws:

In the coming days, amid the many changes and problems they must bring, are we prepared, at whatever personal cost, to be our brother's keeper? The future of this land of ours depends upon the unity of its people. That unity will not be achieved save through widespread recognition of the Fatherhood of God, and of those human rights and duties which such a faith implies. There can be no true society without a common belief and a common purpose.¹¹⁰

In many ways, Warr's concern for the unity and welfare of the national community reiterated the sentiments expressed by the Baillie Commission regarding the Church's involvement in the reconstruction of society after the war, and mirrored the political consensus that had grown up during the war and been fostered by what Paul Addison describes as a generation of 'social patriots.'¹¹¹

Over and above a sense of national belonging, Warr also referred to Britain's need to look outward and promote international reconstruction. He reminded the

¹⁰⁹Appendix 2, p. 246.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 247.

¹¹¹Paul Addison, *The Road to 1945. British Politics and the Second World War* (London: Pimlico, 1994), p. 276.

congregation of the political and economic turmoil of Europe and the 'grim theatre of war' that continued in the Far East. 'The thanksgiving of these days,' he warned, 'cannot blind us to the fact though one hideous peril has been averted, the future is overcast by many shadows.'¹¹² He then indicated that Britain had a moral obligation to fulfil God's laws abroad as well as at home:

In large measure the future of mankind will depend on the quality of British character and the integrity of British leadership. It is an august responsibility for our Commonwealth and Empire to be thus summoned by events to be an instrument of God's righteousness and justice in a ruined world like this.¹¹³

Warr's understanding of citizenship, unlike that of Dr. Williamson, was thus not based solely on a narrow definition of nationhood, but on the relationship between religion and nationhood that embraced both national loyalty and international participation: citizens of the world as well as of the nation.

Nevertheless, although there was a good deal of 'positive' nationalism, there were jingoistic aspects of the service which conformed to the idea of 'negative' nationalism with which Bellah's ideas can be associated. The inclusion of Psalm 124 and the reading from Isaiah 25: 1-8, for instance, with their references to God's

¹¹²Appendix 2, p. 248-9.

¹¹³Appendix 2, p. 249.

deliverance of Israel from the hands of her enemies, embody the idea of 'anamnesis' and can be interpreted as implying that Britain had replaced the Jews as God's chosen nation (a tragically ironic twist in view of the holocaust). Furthermore, whilst we do not have a record of the prayers, it seems unlikely that they included any expression of regret at the loss of life suffered by the enemy.

From this functionalist perspective, it can thus be argued that, whilst the chauvinism was certainly tempered to some extent on this occasion, the political function of the ritual did attempt to legitimate the dominant political and social structures in the aftermath of the Second World War. In this sense, once more it had little to offer those whose had lost faith in God's Providential plan for the world. As the military historian, John Ellis, observes in his study of soldiers during the war: 'For many men nothing so utterly and completely dissipated their residual religious beliefs as the randomness and pervasiveness of violent death.'¹¹⁴ As ritual functions within a surplus of meanings, it is, however, necessary to determine whether at any point the service transcended the dominant values of the nation state and presented an alternative vision of society.

¹¹⁴John Ellis, *The Sharp End of War: The Fighting Man in World War II* (London: Pimlico, 1990), p. 105.

(ii) An interactionist analysis.

In contrast to the functionalist view of ritual which is concerned with maintaining the status quo, ritual can also challenge the dominant values of society, as Kertzer, Driver, Flanagan, Forrester, McDonald and Tellini have argued. Certainly, in comparison to the national service after the First World War, the service after the Second World War did provide a clearer vision of a new life and a new age. The lesson from Revelation 22: 1-5, for example, describes the celestial City of God where Christ invites all to 'drink the waters of life'.¹¹⁵ In God's City, there is beauty, abundance and health for all the nations of the earth. This lesson is described as concluding previous prophecies and all the glorious purposes of God have been realised and are now described as abiding realities.¹¹⁶ In this sense, then, the service embodied to a greater extent a transforming quality. What was perhaps being suggested here was a modification of traditional values.

However, as would be expected in a national service that emphasised British greatness, the liturgy did not present a radical challenge to the dominant values of society. To this end, the civic and religious character of the service remained blurred and there was no questioning of

¹¹⁵Revelation 22: 1.

¹¹⁶Revelation 22: 1-5.

the existing political structure or the concept of war. Indeed, Dr Warr celebrated the fact that the country had emerged from the war with its 'ancient constitution' unimpaired.¹¹⁷

Overall, then, the political function of the ritual in the national service after the Second World War did not serve to challenge fundamentally the jingoistic sentiments that had featured during the war. It did, however, temper them to some extent.

(B) The pastoral function.

Alongside the political function of the ritual, it is necessary to study the national service as a rite of passage in order to judge to what extent it addressed the needs of those who grieved.

Van Gennep's first phase, the 'pre-liminal', can be associated with the views of Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck on the feelings of separation. In contrast to the national service after the First World War, the service did acknowledge the trauma of separation experienced by the bereaved which would have provided a degree of comfort. There was, for instance, a specific part of the liturgy which focused on the remembrance of those who died in the war and the choir sang Lawrence

¹¹⁷Appendix 2, p. 249.

Binyon's poem, 'For the Fallen'. This vividly expressed the pain of separation - 'Britain mourns for her dead across the sea, Flesh of her flesh they were, spirit of her spirit, fallen in the cause of the free' - and concluded with the lines: 'They shall not grow old, as we that are left grow old. Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn. At the going down of the sun and in the morning, We will remember them.'¹¹⁸ However, the service did not incorporate a number of the features of Armistice Day which were powerful symbols of the pain of separation, such as the 'Two Minutes Silence' and the playing of the 'Last Post' and the 'Reveille', and thus did not fully address this issue.

Van Gennep's second stage is the 'liminal' and here, according to Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck, various emotions are released - ranging from guilt to confusion to bitterness. In contrast to the national service after the First World War, the service did show a greater awareness of these emotions and thus might have brought some degree of consolation to the bereaved. Again, however, it did not fully address these matters. For those that felt guilt, a general prayer of confession was incorporated into the thanksgiving prayer at the beginning of the service, but this would have obscured any sense of remorse and, as far as we know, the service

¹¹⁸Lawrence Binyon, 'For the Fallen,' *The Times*, 21 September 1915, p. 15; 'Solemn Thanksgiving Service in St Giles' Cathedral,' *The Scotsman*, 17 May 1945, p. 4.

did not include any prayers for the Germans and their families. For those that felt confused, Psalm 124 called upon the Israelites to reaffirm their trust in God amongst the dangers they faced, but since God had intervened to save the Israelites from her enemies why, if Britain was being equated with the chosen people, had He not intervened sooner to save her the losses she had suffered? For those who felt bitter, Dr Warr made a special point of referring to this in his sermon. 'This is no time,' he urged, 'to inflame feeling or to indulge in rhetoric or facile speech. We need to get ourselves under control again, and to acquire a restored poise of mind.'¹¹⁹ However, it is arguable that some of the theological justifications for the war and the jingoism apparent in some aspects of the service would have served to stimulate further bitterness.

Moreover, since something of relevance to the 'liminal' stage was included in the ritual, this did mean that it had more potential to act as the agent of Turner's 'communitas'; the spirit of mutual bonding he saw as essential for the process of transformation being aided by the fact that the service was broadcast on the wireless into the homes of Scots across the country.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, with the focus of the service on

¹¹⁹Appendix 2, p. 248.

¹²⁰Ronnie Falconer, *Kilt Beneath My Cassock* (Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, 1970), p. 63.

thanksgiving for victory, the people were being asked to celebrate, rather than reconcile their grief.

Van Gennep's third phase is 'post-liminal' and, through the work of Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck, involves the bereaved coming to terms with their grief. Again, in contrast to the national service after the First World War, the service did provide stronger images of hope and new life which might have brought some measure of comfort to the bereaved. The lesson read from Isaiah described God leading the people of Israel to a time of new creation in which 'he will swallow up death for ever, and the Lord God will wipe away tears from all faces'.¹²¹ In addition, the Book of Revelation referred to a tree of life and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations.¹²² In this vision of the New Jerusalem, the promise and availability of unconditional grace is made manifest. Life and healing are now imparted to all the nations and a sense of hope is exhibited which embraces all creation.¹²³ Alongside this, Charles Warr ended his sermon with the tale of a man seeking light to guide him into the unknown: 'Go out into the darkness, and put thine hand into the Hand of God. That shall be to

¹²¹Isaiah 25: 1-8.

¹²²Revelation 22: 2b.

¹²³Mathias Rissi, *The Future of the World. An Exegetical Study of Revelation 19.11-22.15* (London: SCM Press, 1972), pp. 80-81.

thee better than light, and safer than a known way.'¹²⁴ However, the service once again concluded with the playing of the National Anthem (including the second verse 'Thy choicest gift in store') which tended to emphasise national greatness, rather than new life and hope for the future, and thus served to undermine these issues. Furthermore, the knowledge that, although the war in Europe was over, the war in the Far East continued (with every prospect of many further losses), would have suggested that any vision of new life might be shortlived.

Having examined both the political and the pastoral functions of the ritual, once more it is evident that there was a tension between the two in the national service of thanksgiving in Scotland after the Second World War. At the end of the war again the Scots were united in their grief and the national service of thanksgiving had the potential to comfort the bereaved. As we have seen, however, whilst the pastoral function was certainly more evident than in the service after the First World War, the political function was still dominant (although on this occasion the interactionist aspect was more apparent and the functionalist aspect less strident), and so in this respect it can be argued that the Church had once more, to some extent, failed the Scottish people.

¹²⁴Appendix 2, p. 250.

5. THE NATIONAL SERVICE OF THANKSGIVING AND REMEMBRANCE AFTER THE FALKLANDS WAR.

In the light of Britain's experience and suffering after two world wars, rituals of remembrance became an integral part of post-war society. However, as people's memory of war changed over the course of time, so too did the meanings attached to these rituals. It is not surprising, therefore, that when Britain became involved in an unexpected and controversial conflict with Argentina over the Falkland Islands in 1982, the whole concept of thanksgiving and remembrance again became a focus of debate. On this occasion the decision was taken to hold one national service after the war which would cater for the entire United Kingdom (including Scotland) and it was decided to hold it in London. It is to this service that this chapter is addressed.

1. The Ritual Context.

(A) The life of the nation and the Church from 1945 to 1982.

When the fighting was finally over in 1945 and the national service had taken place, for the second time in the twentieth century the Scottish people were faced with the task of coming to terms with the legacy of suffering and loss after a world war. Reconstruction began under Attlee's Labour government which was committed to a programme of social reform and economic intervention. But

recovery was slow and Scotland, like the rest of Britain, was to endure a period of continuing shortages and rationing which was to persist for some time.¹

It was against this background of austerity that the Church sought to play its role in post-war reconstruction.² Although the wartime reports of the Baillie Commission indicated the Church's determination to reassert itself once more in the social life of the nation,³ criticism of the Church's role in this respect continued to be voiced. In November 1945, for example, two service chaplains outlined their concerns in *The Scotsman*. They listed amongst other things a lack of knowledge on the part of the clergy of the outlook and difficulties of the ordinary man, and a timidity on the part of the Church to speak out on important issues.⁴

One way in which the Church attempted to revive its fortunes was by a renewed commitment to mission and

¹Michael Lynch, *Scotland. A New History* (London: Century, 1991), p. 441; Paul Addison, *Now the War is Over: A Social History of Britain, 1945-51* (London: BBC/Jonathan Cape, 1985), p. 53.

²Adrian Hastings, 'The British Churches in the War and Post-War Reconstruction,' in *God's Will in a Time of Crisis. A Colloquium Celebrating the 50th Anniversary of The Baillie Commission* ed., Andrew R. Morton (Edinburgh: Centre for Theology and Public Issues, 1994), pp. 4-13.

³John Baillie, *God's Will for Church and Nation* (London: SCM Press, 1946), pp. 50-63.

⁴'Critics of Clergy and Church. Two Chaplains' Comments,' *The Scotsman*, 10 November 1945, p. 4.

evangelism.⁵ In 1947 a 'Tell Scotland' campaign began and this movement culminated in the Billy Graham crusade to Scotland in 1955.⁶ It is not surprising, therefore, that 1957 saw the all-time peak in Church of Scotland membership. However, one year later the communicants' roll started its steady decline.⁷

Whilst the Church was facing up to the challenges of the post-war world, the ritual of Armistice Day was modified. During the war the official Armistice Day ceremonies were suspended and in their place local churches held services of remembrance on the nearest Sunday to Armistice Day.⁸ At the end of the war the government consulted with interested bodies and in view of the need to ensure that the commemoration of the Second World War was not subsumed into the First, and since the churches had already inspired a shift towards commemoration on a Sunday, so the Prime Minister announced in June 1946 that the national day of remembrance would henceforth be held on the Sunday immediately before the 11 November during which the dead from the two world wars would be

⁵William Storar, 'Roofless in Scotland: Towards a New Christian Social Vision,' in *Seeing Scotland. Seeing Christ* eds., Centre for Theology and Public Issues (Edinburgh: Centre for Theology and Public Issues, 1993), p. 19.

⁶Callum G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1738* (London: Methuen, 1987), pp. 225-226.

⁷R. Currie, A. Gilbert and L. Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), p. 135.

⁸Adrian Gregory, *The Silence of Memory. Armistice Day 1919-1946* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), p. 191.

commemorated.⁹ Remembrance Sunday, as it became known, was to include the same basic rituals as Armistice Day: a national ceremony at the Cenotaph in Whitehall involving a religious service, a 'Two Minutes Silence', the playing of the 'Last Post' and the 'Reveille', and the laying of wreaths by service representatives and others; and similar ceremonies up and down the country centred around local war memorials with accompanying religious services in local churches.¹⁰

During the post-war era, Remembrance Sunday, like Armistice Day before it, came to reflect the political, social and cultural developments of these years. During the 1940s the language of remembrance was still tinged with jingoism. In 1946 the Rev. Dr Charles Warr, Minister of St Giles' Cathedral, spoke of 'the loyalty, faith, and beauty of those who preserved for us the liberty we still enjoyed.'¹¹ On the same day the Rev. Dr Davidson, the Minister of Glasgow Cathedral, expressed similar sentiments and argued that 'only a free nation can fully carry out God's will.'¹²

⁹*Parliamentary Debates* (Commons), 5th series, vol. 424 (1945-46), cols. 179-180.

¹⁰Gregory, pp. 215-221; 'Edinburgh Remembers,' *The Scotsman*, 11 November 1946, p. 5.

¹¹'Edinburgh Remembers,' *The Scotsman*, 11 November 1946, p. 5.

¹²'Remembrance Day in Glasgow,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 11 November 1946, p. 3.

However, it was interesting that in the aftermath of the Second World War Remembrance Sunday was also used to foster international reconciliation. During the ceremony in the Barony of Glasgow in 1946, the Very Rev. Dr John White emphasised the tasks of peace. 'The new world which is being thrust upon us,' he observed, 'will need a new religious outlook, a new intellectual outlook, a new social, economic and political outlook. We dare not face the building of a new world out of the old worldliness with its strifes and dispeace.'¹³ These sentiments were given practical demonstration at St Giles' Cathedral in 1947 when a German bishop, Bishop Hans Lilje of Hanover, preached from the pulpit on Remembrance Sunday. 'Let the spirit of forgiveness prevail,' he exclaimed, 'It is the only sound basis for the recovery of Europe and the world.'¹⁴ Dr Warr, aware that the invitation to the Bishop might arouse strong feelings, nevertheless regarded it as 'a gesture of Christian conciliation.'¹⁵

Since the public ceremonies were now held on a Sunday, the Church was able to exert greater influence over the remembrance rituals than hitherto. Thus Remembrance Sunday was further used as a means of Christian rededication. In 1946, Dr Warr strongly emphasised this

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴'Spirit of Forgiveness,' *The Scotsman*, 10 November 1947, p. 3.

¹⁵Charles L. Warr, *The Glimmering Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1960), pp. 251-252.

theme in his sermon:

This is a day not only of remembrance, and we will miss the whole significance of it if we who are still alive do not regard it as a day for the rededication of ourselves - a rededication of everything that we have got, everything we are, to the service of Him, in whom the living and the dead are one.¹⁶

More than this, the ceremony was used to reinforce Christian values in society. At a service at the University of St Andrews in 1948, the Rev. Professor Edgar Primrose Dickie referred to remembrance as a time to seek after 'things greater even than peace - truth, justice and kindness. "War settles nothing" we hear people say; but a settlement by unrighteousness is worse than no settlement.'¹⁷

With the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950 and Cold War tensions growing, Remembrance Sunday saw a resurgence of jingoistic sentiment. At a service in St Giles' Cathedral in 1952, Dr Warr spoke of those who had died as having 'given their all for a great ideal and thus fulfilled a glorious destiny'.¹⁸ However, what was particularly interesting was the way in which the ritual was used to convey an overtly political message about the dangers of communism. At St John's Kirk in Perth in 1951, for

¹⁶'Edinburgh Remembers,' *The Scotsman*, 11 November 1946, p. 5.

¹⁷E. P. Dickie, *Remembrance* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966), pp. 68-69.

¹⁸'Response Past and Present to the Call of Justice,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 10 November 1952, p. 7.

example, the Moderator of the General Assembly, the Rt. Rev. Dr. W. White Anderson, spoke out against 'fellow travellers' and the 'enemy within':

And what a strange thing - there are even men and women living among ourselves who actually think that what other countries do is better than what we are doing, and there are some of a twisted nature who believe that what is happening in Russia is the kind of thing they would like to see happen here.

These people work for the disintegration of the unity of our people. As we stood together as the dangers threatened from without, let us again stand together when the dangers threaten from within.¹⁹

This was followed in 1952 by similar sentiments from Dr Anderson's successor, the Rt. Rev. George Johnstone Jeffrey, who at a service in Rothesay railed against the ideology that reduced man to a mere unity in the mass. 'There was one vital way to commemorate the memory of our glorious dead,' he implored, 'and that was by keeping alive the greatness of the human personality.'²⁰

It was at this time that the Church began to confront seriously the issue of weapons of mass destruction with a series of debates on war and peace in the nuclear age at the General Assembly.²¹ One such debate in 1954 involved

¹⁹'Moderator's Sombre View of World Living in Fear,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 12 November 1951, p. 6.

²⁰'Other Scots Services. Moderator at Rothesay,' *The Scotsman*, 10 November 1952, p. 5.

²¹Ronald Ferguson, *George MacLeod. Founder of the Iona Community* (London: Collins, 1990), p. 256.

two of the Kirk's most famous orators: George Fielden MacLeod and James Pitt-Watson. MacLeod passionately argued the cause of pacifism pointing out that in a nuclear age war could no longer be regarded as a rational tool of policy and ending his speech with the haunting question: 'I for one cannot press that button. Can you?' In contrast, Pitt-Watson attacked pacifism and noted that true peacemakers in the 1930s when Hitler rose to power had not been the pacifists but those who had been dismissed as alarmists and warmongers.²² Indeed, feelings ran so high at the debate that for the first time for many years the Moderator led the Assembly in prayer before the members voted. The result was a crushing defeat for MacLeod and a confirmation of what appeared to be a chauvinistic stance of the Church at a time of perceived danger.²³

A jingoistic tone was further evident at the Remembrance ceremonies in the wake of the Hungarian uprising against Soviet rule in 1956. At the service in St Giles' Cathedral the minister, the Rev. Dr H. C. Whitley, asked the congregation to commemorate what he described as the 'shining hosts'. 'They fought,' he noted, 'believing that some things are worth fighting for - home, land, freedom, a better world.' 'They may point,' he continued, 'with

²²In later years, Pitt-Watson told Dr J. I. H. McDonald that he could no longer maintain the line of argument he put forward in that debate. I am grateful to Dr McDonald for this information.

²³Ferguson, p. 259.

trembling finger to Hungary as if to remind us that one of these things, precious still to men, is freedom.²⁴

In the meantime, the remembrance ritual had begun to change during the 1950s. The fact that the ritual was now held on a Sunday rather than a weekday altered the character of the day. To begin with, the 'Two Minutes Silence' at 11.00am in workplaces around the country, which had accompanied the 'Two Minutes Silence' at the Cenotaph in the inter-war years, was never really resumed after it had been suspended during the war because most people were either at home or at church.²⁵ In 1953 the Church did try to revive this national corporate act of remembrance on a fixed day but this was met with the disapproval of the General Assembly who argued that 'it would be inadvisable to attempt to revive by authority an observance which might not in the present circumstances appeal to the imagination and sentiment of the people.'²⁶

Linked to this, the remembrance ritual became associated with what has been described as a 'Sunday church'

²⁴'Remembrance in the Scottish Capital,' *The Scotsman*, 12 November 1956, p. 8.

²⁵David Cannadine, 'War and Death, Grief and Mourning in Modern Britain,' in *Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death*, ed., Joachim Whaley (London: Europa Publications, 1981), p. 234.

²⁶The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Nation,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1954* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1954), p. 345.

atmosphere. In order to give the day a more settled place in the religious calender, in 1956 the government announced that Remembrance Sunday would now be observed on the second Sunday in November, rather than the Sunday immediately before the 11 November which might fall on either the first or second Sunday in November.²⁷ However, because the ritual no longer interrupted normal, everyday business, but became linked instead with the habit of churchgoing, it never regained the level of significance in the life of the nation that it had enjoyed in the inter-war years.²⁸

To add to this, the passing of the years meant that memories of the First and Second World Wars faded and a new generation grew up with few recollections of these events. As a result, attendances at Remembrance Sunday ceremonies began to decline. This was first alluded to in *The Scotsman* in 1953 which pointed out that 'Year by year the public attendance at the ceremony in the High Street of Edinburgh, in front of the Stone of Remembrance, seems to grow less.'²⁹ In 1957 it was noted of the ceremony at George Square in Glasgow that 'fewer than 1000 people turned up and doubts were expressed about whether there

²⁷*Parliamentary Debates* (Commons), 5th series, vol. 554 (1955-56), col. 119.

²⁸Gregory, pp. 206-207; 'Changed Character of Remembrance Day - By The Minister of St. Giles,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 15 November 1976, p. 4.

²⁹'Ceremony in Edinburgh,' *The Scotsman*, 9 November 1953, p. 6.

was any point in continuing the ceremony in its present form.'³⁰ It was perhaps a sign of the times that in 1958 no military band was available to play the National Anthem at the ceremony in the High Street in Edinburgh and a gramophone record had to be used instead.³¹ Remembrance Sunday was gradually becoming marginalised.

As the 1960s dawned, the radical new youth culture of the period, combined with the growth of such organisations as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, had important consequences for remembrance. Remembrance Sunday began to abandon the language of jingoism and came increasingly to promote the ideals of peace. During the service at St. Giles' Cathedral in 1960, the Rev. Dr H. C. Whitley announced that a moment of truth had arrived for the Church:

Can we in honesty preach from our pulpits the saving power of the Cross and the victory of love and at the same time support the making and testing and possible use of the most diabolical weapons of mass destruction?

If we say that our salvation depends on nuclear power then we deny the power of the Cross and the saving work of Christ.³²

This was followed in 1961 by a fifteen-hour peace vigil during remembrancetide conducted by a group of Scottish

³⁰'Scotland Remembers the Dead of Two World Wars,' *The Scotsman*, 10 November 1958, p. 3.

³¹Ibid.

³²'Call for Assembly to Discuss Polaris,' *The Scotsman*, 14 November 1960, p. 5.

ministers and their friends at the Cenotaph in George Square in Glasgow.³³ The next year a similar peace vigil was held at St. John's Kirk in Perth.³⁴ By the mid 1960s the remembrance ceremonies had become a focus for more forceful protest. At a ceremony in Aberdeen in 1966, for example, police had to curb young demonstrators with banners which called for peace in Vietnam and 'No More War'.³⁵

Interestingly, during the 1960s the remembrance services were also used to question social values by means of evoking the memory of war against what was perceived to be increasing secularisation and the declining social and moral standards of the time.³⁶ In his sermon in St. Giles' Cathedral in 1964, the Rev. Dr Whitley noted that the trouble with so many people in the present day was that they had no binding loyalties and no reliable faith by which to live. Unless the lessons of the two world wars were learnt, he stressed, then it would be 'the fire next time, if there is a next time.'³⁷ These sentiments

³³'Ministers' Peace Vigil "Worthwhile",' *The Scotsman*, 13 November 1961, p. 8.

³⁴'Glasgow "Vigil for Peace",' *The Glasgow Herald*, 12 November 1962, p. 5.

³⁵'"No Hope" If We Keep Wasting Life,' *The Scotsman*, 14 November 1966, p. 5.

³⁶Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945. Believing without Belonging* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 33-36; Callum Brown, *Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London: Methuen, 1987), pp. 229-233.

³⁷'War Dead Remembered,' *The Scotsman*, 9 November 1964, p. 5.

were mirrored by the Very Rev. Dr R. Foskett, Provost of St Mary's (Episcopal) Cathedral in Edinburgh, who argued in his sermon in 1966 that the rising generation ought to understand and appreciate that without victory, bought at so high a price in human life in the last war, they should not now be in a position to live their own lives in their own way. 'They could not share in the events we recall today,' he observed, 'but they have not been unaffected by them.'³⁸

Despite this evocation of a more moral age, faced with the radicalisation of Remembrance Sunday during the 1960s and the falling attendances at the ceremonies, there were some within the Church who called for a reappraisal of the ritual. In 1969 the Church and Nation Committee examined the form and emphasis of the observation and reported to the General Assembly. Remembrance, it was noted, should not be discarded or become merely the traditional celebration of a diminishing minority:

The remembrance of individuals, their idealism and sacrifice, and the debt we owe to them and to those who did not die but lived to suffer, should continue to be emphasised.³⁹

However, it was recommended that it was now not enough

³⁸"No Hope" If We Keep Wasting Life,' *The Scotsman*, 14 November 1966, p. 5,

³⁹The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Nation,' in *Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1969* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1969), p. 184.

merely to recall past events:

... the Day of Remembrance should also be, as indeed it has already become, a day of rededication to the cause of world peace and to the tasks that lie ahead.⁴⁰

Indeed, remembrance was now to become specifically associated with the task of building a better world community without which peace could not be established:

This means entering into the political struggle for the recognition of and respect for human rights everywhere, for the overcoming of national and racial prejudices and barriers, for the closing of the gap between the rich and the poor nations, for the improving of social and educational standards and the relief of distress at home and abroad....

Remembrance Day, conceived in these terms, looking back but also looking forward, is as relevant today as it has ever been.⁴¹

This emphasis on the cause of peace, combined with the new ideal of building a better world community, was reinforced in 1970 by the Committee on Public Worship and Aids to Devotion. This body provided a revised order of service for remembrance services which was simpler in form and content than that used during the post-war years and whose orientation was expressed as 'dedication

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

to world peace and the service of humanity.'⁴²

During the 1970s Church membership continued its inexorable decline.⁴³ Although the Church adopted what many regarded as a fairly liberal attitude to many of the great social questions that had arisen during the 1960s, such as the legalisation of abortion, the decriminalisation of homosexuality and the liberalisation of divorce, nevertheless,⁴⁴ by the late 1970s there were less than one million names on the communicants' roll.⁴⁵

The decline in Church membership was matched by declining attendances at Remembrance Sunday ceremonies. The shift in the balance of the population towards a younger generation with little memory or knowledge of the war, combined with the television coverage of the Cenataph ceremony in Whitehall, meant that fewer and fewer participated in the ritual. It is not surprising, therefore, that in 1972 *The Glasgow Herald* commented that

⁴²The Church of Scotland, Report of the Committee on Public Worship and Aids to Devotion,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1970* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1970), p. 186; This was accompanied by the introduction of a revised service in England in 1968 in response to criticisms that the older form of service was too warlike in tone. See Cannadine, p. 234.

⁴³Peter Bisset, *The Kirk and her Scotland. The Stuggle for a Missionary Church* (Edinburgh: The Handsel Press, 1986), p. 17.

⁴⁴Brown, p. 230.

⁴⁵The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on General Administration,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1980* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1980), p. 20.

the prevailing attitude towards remembrance Sunday was one of 'apathy'. 'That is a damning admission,' it was observed, 'that none can be proud of.'⁴⁶

In response, the Church sought to make remembrance more relevant by personalising the ritual. Rather than focusing on building a better world community, Remembrance Sunday was again used as a means of questioning social values through a re-evaluation of standards of personal conduct in daily life. In his sermon at Glasgow Cathedral in 1972, the Rev. Dr William Morris launched a forthright attack on what he saw as blatant self-interest in society:

Remembrance will go on being an escapist sentimentality or a blatant hypocrisy unless we make it a time for looking honestly at ourselves and admitting that war is a disease which each of us propagates in his individual life.⁴⁷

In similar vein, in 1974 the Minister of St. Giles' Cathedral, the Rev. Gilleasbuig Macmillan, argued that remembrance was a time for 'a rethinking and rededication of standards and values.'⁴⁸

What was more, remembrance also became a political football and was used by the Scottish Nationalist Party

⁴⁶'Remembrance Day,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 13 November 1972, p. 8.

⁴⁷'Minister Hits at Escapist Aspect of Remembrance,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 13 November 1972, p. 9.

⁴⁸'Strict Security as Queen Pays Homage to Dead,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 11 November 1974, p. 3.

to whip up nationalist feeling during the devolution debate in the mid-1970s. In 1976 Donald Stewart, the leader of the party, asked to take part in the official wreath laying ceremony at the Cenotaph in Whitehall. The Home Secretary, Merlyn Rees, refused him permission arguing that the ceremony in London, as distinct from those held elsewhere, was a United Kingdom ceremony and it would not be appropriate for a nationalist party which did not operate on a UK basis to take part. The Home Secretary's position, it was reported, was a grave insult to the Scots and 'raised the question of whether the two great wars were English wars with which the Scots should not have been concerned.'⁴⁹

By the end of the 1970s the public attitude to remembrance continued to be characterised by apathy and there were calls from some for Remembrance Sunday to be discontinued.⁵⁰ The ritual continued but was slightly modified. In 1980 it was reported that the Queen had decreed that the act of remembrance would be officially changed to include not only the dead of the world wars, but all those who had died in the service of their country.⁵¹ It was a timely announcement: two years later

⁴⁹'SNP Protest Over Cenotaph Ban,' *The Scotsman*, 10 November 1976, p. 8.

⁵⁰John McMurtie, 'Almost a Sense of Affection,' *Life and Work* 34 (November 1978), p. 16.

⁵¹'Remembrance Day,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 9 October 1980, p. 3.

another roll of names would be added to the list - this time from the war in the South Atlantic.

During the post-war period Remembrance Sunday continued to fulfil an important pastoral role. For many the Church had failed in its mission during these years. As the Committee on Church and Nation admitted in the late 1960s, whilst the Church was still called upon to perform liturgical functions on various national and ceremonial occasions, it had become increasingly marginalised in the life of the nation. 'A great many,' it was noted, 'show little real interest in the Christian Church or attempt to practise regularly the Christian style of living.'⁵² Instead, Remembrance Sunday, like Armistice Day before it, acted as focus of commemoration for a grieving nation and as a means of resettling the veterans of wars back into society and keeping the memory of their comrades alive. In the early years the ritual came to represent the spirit of jingoism and in the later years the ideals of peace and, to some extent a moral crusade. It was, however, increasingly confronted with the apathy of the public, the majority of whom saw little meaning in the ceremony. For the bereaved this held little comfort: in the 1940s and 1950s at least it could be said once more that a man had died for his country; in the 1960s it

⁵²The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Nation,' in *Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1969* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1969), p. 185.

could still be said that he had died to prevent another war; by the 1970s all that could be said was that few really seemed to care any longer why he had died at all. Yet, as *Life and Work* reminded its readers, 'grief, like love, need not age or fade.'⁵³

(B) The life of the nation and the Church during the Falklands War.

In 1982 British political life was dominated for ten weeks by a conflict between Argentina and Britain over the sovereignty of the Falkland Islands; these islands being situated in the South Atlantic some 8,000 miles away from Britain. This war was not a total war like the First and Second World War, but was a limited war in terms of war aims, the length of the conflict and the extent of mobilisation of national resources. Nevertheless, the human price of this short-lived conflict was high, amounting to some 900 British and Argentine dead.⁵⁴ Despite the memory of two World Wars, there were many in Britain at the time of the Falklands conflict who had not experienced the reality of war and the loss of human life. This was emphasised at the end of the war by the journalist and historian, Max Hastings,

⁵³'Editorial,' *Life and Work* 32 (November 1976), p. 5.

⁵⁴Martin Middlebrook, *Task Force. The Falklands War, 1982* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987), p. 382; Ibid., *The Fight for the 'Malvinas'. The Argentine Forces in the Falklands War* (London: Viking, 1989), p. 282.

who accompanied the Task Force to the Falkland Islands: 'It is a very long time since Britain was engaged upon a war on this scale,' he noted, 'and almost all of my generation are attempting to come to terms with these things for the first time.'⁵⁵

Although Anglo-Argentine relations over the Falkland Islands had been steadily deteriorating since the 1960s, and British foreign and defence policy over the Islands had become dangerously out of step, the invasion of the Islands by the Argentines on 2 April 1982 and the humiliating surrender of the small Royal Marines garrison took the government and the nation by surprise.⁵⁶ The government, however, acted swiftly. On 3 April Mrs Thatcher condemned this act of unprovoked aggression against British territory and announced to parliament that a Task Force would sail to the South Atlantic. A significant number of Scottish Labour MPs were opposed to military action being taken over the Falklands. Tam Dalyell, the MP for West Lothian, was at the forefront of opposition to the war and after *HMS Sheffield* was struck by a missile on 4 May sixteen MPs from north of the border signed a Commons motion calling for an immediate truce to the war.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, there was a good deal

⁵⁵Max Hastings, 'How Boys Grew into Men as the Cliches of War came True,' *The Scotsman*, 16 June 1982, p. 9.

⁵⁶Lawrence Freedman, *Britain and the Falklands War* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 22-38.

⁵⁷'Scots in Truce Call,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 5 May 1982, p. 9.

of cross-party support for the government's handling of the crisis and the Labour front bench backed the Prime Minister.⁵⁸

It can perhaps be suggested that the reaction of many Scots was not so very different from the rest of the United Kingdom in their largely jingoistic response to the war.⁵⁹ This response was reflected not only in regular opinion polls conducted during the crisis across Great Britain which broadly supported the war effort,⁶⁰ but also in the dominant trends of the television news and in the feast of chauvinistic headlines found in the popular press. As the Glasgow University Media Group noted: 'many journalists embraced the heady mix of patriotism and fascination with war.'⁶¹

In looking at the response of the nation to the Falklands War, it is important to highlight the role played by the media. Despite the presence of television sets in virtually every home, there was no means to transmit

⁵⁸Tam Dalyell, *One Man's Falklands...* (London: Cecil Woolf, 1982), pp. 50-60.

⁵⁹David E. Morrison and Howard Tumber, *Journalists at War. The Dynamics of News Reporting during the Falklands Conflict* (London: Sage, 1988), p. 1; '"Fantastic" Send-off as Armada sets Sail,' *The Scotsman*, 6 April 1982, p. 1.

⁶⁰Freedman, pp. 92-100.

⁶¹Glasgow University Media Group, *War and Peace News* (Milton Keynes: The Open University Press, 1985), p. 21.

television pictures of the war back to Britain.⁶² Moreover, although David Morrison and Howard Tumber argue that the war was not deliberately sanitized,⁶³ the Glasgow Media Group highlighted the strict censorship imposed on the reporting of the conflict. With such technical restrictions and careful control of reporting, it is argued, the government and military attempted to construct for the nation a particularly favourable image of the war which would not in any way endanger public morale. It was significant that no pictures of casualties from the land fighting were made public until after the final ceasefire, and in response to various government directives the Assistant Director-General of the BBC forbade interviews with bereaved relatives.⁶⁴ Such censorship was clearly regarded by some as detrimental to their understanding of the war. As Martin Gaba described in a letter to *The Scotsman*, 'we are insulated from the reality and the pity of war.'⁶⁵

Whilst the reporting of the war was restricted, much of the media did its best to mobilise the jingoistic instincts of the nation. This was particularly evident in the popular newspaper coverage of the war. Whilst not

⁶²Freedman, pp. 89-90.

⁶³Morrison and Tumber, pp. 346-350.

⁶⁴Glasgow University Media Group, pp. 8, 9, 15.

⁶⁵Martin Gaba, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 20 May 1982, p. 8.

every tabloid adopted this line – the *Daily Mirror*, for example, did not believe that patriotism had to be proved in blood – *The Sun*, which was the most widely read newspaper in Britain, remained fiercely chauvinistic throughout the conflict with headlines such as 'STICK THIS UP YOUR JUNTA!', which accompanied the news that the newspaper had sponsored a sidewinder missile, and 'GOTCHA!' which headlined the sinking of the *General Belgrano*.⁶⁶

The belligerency of the public was revealed by the reaction to an article in the *The Scotsman* on 6 May which criticised the effortless clashing of the 'cymbals of jingoism' and suggested that the war was not a 'just war' but an 'idiotic war'.⁶⁷ In response, *The Scotsman* received violent letters of complaint over the tone of the article, with one correspondent arguing that the author had roundly abused the 'glorious privilege' of writing for the newspaper.⁶⁸

Over and above the jingoism, however, there was also a sense of national renewal. The images of the war, such as the description of the landings at San Carlos as 'D-Day

⁶⁶Robert Harris, *Gotcha. The Media, the Government and the Falklands Crisis* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), p. 47.

⁶⁷Chris Baur, 'The Tide Starts to Turn against Mrs Thatcher,' *The Scotsman*, 6 May 1982, p. 9.

⁶⁸Ian M. Dalziel, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 10 May 1995, p. 8.

style', evoked memories of Britain's glorious past,⁶⁹ and the values of freedom, democracy and justice which Britain fought for between 1939 and 1945 were used to justify Britain's involvement in the war.⁷⁰ Moreover, the Falklands War was presented by the government and much of the media as a war which made Britain 'great' again. When the Prime Minister addressed the Scottish Conservatives in Perth on 14 May she spoke of a 'triumphant reawakening of British pride':

For years they have been trying to tell us and others who observe us that the British have lost their taste for independent action, that patriotism is outmoded.... that these things belong to the scrapbook of nostalgia. How wrong they were.

In these last few weeks we have seen the ancient country rising as one nation to meet a challenge that it refused to ignore.

... the springs of pride in Britain flow again.⁷¹

Such sentiments were echoed by the public. One letter to the *Edinburgh Evening News* was entitled 'Why I'm proud to be British' and argued that any criticism of Britain's actions over the Falklands would be 'to stab our lads in

⁶⁹'5,000 Ashore in "D-day" Landing,' *The Scotsman*, 24 May 1982, p. 2.

⁷⁰University of Sussex, Tom Harrisson Mass-Observation Archive, Lucy Noakes, 'Gender, Memory and Mass Observation: The Second World War and the Falklands,' unpublished paper presented to the Women's History Network Conference, University of Nottingham, 1992, pp. 21-22.

⁷¹'Britain's Pride Flowing Again, says Premier,' *The Scotsman*, 15 May 1982, p. 1.

the back'.⁷²

The pride of the nation became symbolised by the Task Force and the country united in their support of it.⁷³ For Scots, in particular, there was much to rally around. *HMS Glasgow* was prominent amongst the naval vessels present; 45 Commando, Royal Marines, based in Arbroath, took part in the initial landings and fought the Battle of Two Sisters; and the Scots Guards captured Mount Tumbledown.

Nevertheless, whilst many Scots took an avowedly chauvinistic line, there is some evidence that the Scottish people were not so enthusiastic about the war as those south of the border. *The Scotsman*, for instance, was highly critical of the government's handling of events leading up to the Argentine invasion and continued to call for a peaceful settlement of the dispute: 'There can be no victors,' it was argued, 'and it is the very last way to resolve disputes'.⁷⁴ Moreover, if one accepts the view of a number of commentators that the so-called 'Falklands factor' was extremely important in explaining the landslide victory of the Conservative party in the

⁷²'Why I'm Proud to be British,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 11 June 1982, p. 10.

⁷³'Maggie's Tribute to the Lads Far Away Fighting the Argies,' *The Sun*, 22 May 1982, p. 5.

⁷⁴'Editorial,' *The Scotsman*, 5 May 1982, p. 8.

general election of 1983,⁷⁵ then it is notable that the 'Falklands factor' was less evident in Scotland than in other parts of the country. The overall swing across the United Kingdom was of the order of 6%, but in Scotland it was only 2.2% and in the heavily urban areas there was a swing against the Conservatives of 2.5%.⁷⁶

Roger Williamson has produced a detailed analysis of the British Council of Churches' reaction to the Falkland Islands crisis. Williamson notes that the Falklands crisis emerged suddenly and unexpectedly for the churches and resulted in their initial failure to find a 'corporate voice'.⁷⁷ The response of the Church of Scotland followed this pattern. During the crucial month of April 1982, when the policy options were being determined by the British government, the Church was silent on the matter and there was no statement about the Falkland Islands issue made by the Church in the national press or in the Church's magazine *Life and Work*.

As the crisis escalated, however, the Church came to reflect, and forcefully articulate, concerns over the

⁷⁵Ivor Crewe, 'How to Win a Landslide Without Really Trying: Why the Conservatives Won in 1983,' in *Britain at the Polls 1983. A Study of a General Election* ed., Austin Ranney (New York: Duke University Press, 1985), pp. 158-161.

⁷⁶David Butler and Denis Kavanagh, *The British General Election of 1983* (London: MacMillan, 1985), pp. 336-338.

⁷⁷University of Edinburgh, New College Library, 'Falklands War' folder, Roger Williamson, 'The BCC and the Falklands Crisis. A Conflict Analysis,' unpublished paper, n.d., p. 1.

war. The first indication of this was in Robert Kernohan's editorial comment in *Life and Work* which appeared in May. Writing at a time when no lives had yet been lost, Kernohan expressed not only his criticism of the government's initial handling of the dispute but also gave his support for what future action needed to be taken to 'seek as peaceful as possible a return to legality in British territory'.⁷⁸ In response to the distressing news of the first fatal casualties, leading churchmen from the Church of Scotland, the Roman Catholic Church and the Episcopalian Church, sent a telegram to the Prime Minister and other political leaders urging them to find a peaceful solution to the crisis. 'Violent actions are breeding increasingly violent responses', it implored. 'What would have been unthinkable a few weeks ago, like the sinking of a big ship with the attendant loss of life, is now necessary policy. This cannot be right.'⁷⁹

A focal point of the Church of Scotland's reaction to the conflict was the vigorous debate in the press regarding the Christian response to the crisis. This debate was largely inspired by correspondence from the Rev. Prof. Duncan B. Forrester who, on several occasions, raised the issue of whether the use of military force by the

⁷⁸'Editorial,' *Life and Work* 38 (May 1982), p. 5.

⁷⁹University of Edinburgh, New College Library, 'Falklands War' folder, 'Telegram to the Prime Minister, Michael Foot and David Steel,' 4 May 1982.

government met the standards of the traditional 'just war' theory.⁸⁰ In an article in *The Scotsman* on 17 May, for instance, Forrester argued that the issue between Argentina and Britain over the Falkland Islands was not great enough to justify war, all means to resolve the conflict peacefully had not been exhausted and that the use of military force did not have clear and attainable objectives. 'Christians who believe that this is not a just war,' he noted, 'have a duty to say so.'⁸¹

In response to Forrester's arguments, there was an influx of impassioned letters which revealed a wide range of opinion over the war and the understanding of it in a Christian context. One correspondent, the Rev. N. M. de S. Cameron, argued from the standpoint that aggression must not be allowed to pay and described the government's actions in the Falklands as morally justifiable and 'Christian' in principle.⁸² 'A sense of proportion,' Cameron argued, 'is ever the enemy of a sense of principle.'⁸³

⁸⁰Duncan B. Forrester, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 4 May 1982, p. 8; Ibid., 'Why the Falklands is not a Just War,' *The Scotsman*, 17 May 1982, p. 8; Ibid., letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 25 May 1982, p. 10.

⁸¹Duncan Forrester, 'Why the Falklands is not a Just War,' *The Scotsman*, 17 May 1982, p. 8.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³N. M. de S. Cameron, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 19 May 1982, p. 8.

Furthermore, among those who responded to Forrester's arguments, there were those who failed to see the relevance of discussing the conflict within a Christian context. P. Ross Leckie wrote to *The Scotsman* noting that, 'Law, and not theology, is at stake in the South Atlantic.' Forrester, he argued, demonstrated 'the inanities and obscurities of the Christian attitude to war.'⁸⁴ From a pacifist viewpoint, Ronald Beasley argued that the 'Just War' doctrine was a 'dead duck' and was used to 'divert us from the real considerations of contemporary peace and war.'⁸⁵ Another correspondent, J. R. Calder, described Forrester's comments as simply 'demoralising'.⁸⁶

During the war in the South Atlantic, the precise role of the Church in relation to the conflict became the focus of bitter division at the General Assembly. During the Assembly, which met from 15-21 May, the Church and Nation Committee presented a special supplementary report on the Falklands crisis. This report did not express any particular view of the rights and wrongs of the conflict, but it did convey deep concern at the dangerous implications and possibilities arising from the events in

⁸⁴p. Ross Leckie, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 20 May 1982, p. 8.

⁸⁵Ronald Beasley, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 19 May 1982, p. 8.

⁸⁶J. R. Calder, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 10 May 1982, p. 8.

the South Atlantic and commended all measures towards a lasting and peaceful solution.⁸⁷

In response to this report a motion was put to the General Assembly for the Church and Nation Committee to add to its supplementary report the Kirk's support for the government's handling of the Falklands crisis. The debate aroused fierce passions. In support of this motion, there were those who argued vigorously against Argentine aggression. 'There are some things that are worse than death,' argued the Rev. Ronald Murray, 'and one of them is to submit to something you know to be utterly wrong.'⁸⁸ What was more, noted the Rev. John Jolly, the assembly had a responsibility to those risking their lives:

I don't know what on earth these young people in the task force would think - or the residents of the Falkland Islands - if the news went out from this assembly that we were not happy with the actions of the British Government.⁸⁹

There were, however, those who were fiercely opposed to the motion. The Rev. Ian Miller described his alarm at the 'jingoistic drum beating' and did not think it was the General Assembly's business to give blanket support

⁸⁷The Church of Scotland, 'Supplementary Report of the Church and Nation,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1982* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1982), p. 9.

⁸⁸Peter MacDonald, 'Kirk Deeply Split over Falklands,' *The Scotsman*, 21 May 1982, p. 5.

⁸⁹Ibid.

to any government. 'Let us not be seen,' he argued, 'to be anxious to move towards action that would precipitate wanton bloodshed.'⁹⁰ After heated discussions, the General Assembly voted in favour of support for the government, but it was by a fairly slender majority: the motion being passed by 408 votes to 335 with 122 commissioners officially recording their dissent at the decision.⁹¹

Whilst the Church wrestled with its public stance over the conflict, it did, nevertheless, do what it could to promote the cause of reconciliation. In addition to its ministry of prayer and intercession, the Church of Scotland attempted to make a gesture of Christian fraternity with the Roman Catholic Church in Argentina. The General Assembly approved overwhelmingly for a meeting to take place between the Moderator of the Church of Scotland and the Pope during his impending visit to Britain.⁹² Moreover, a spirit of ecumenism was maintained by the Church during the conflict as a result of the World Council of Churches contact with Argentine and

⁹⁰Raymond Duncan and Christopher Reekie, 'Kirk Split over Handling of the Falklands Crisis,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 21 May 1982, p. 6.

⁹¹'Kirk Backing for Government Line on Crisis,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 20 May 1982, p. 1.

⁹²'Editorial,' *The Scotsman*, 23 May 1982, p. 6.

British Churches.⁹³

The attempts of the Church to promote reconciliation during the conflict were further embodied in the person of the Moderator of the General Assembly, the Rt Rev. Professor John McIntyre. Whilst attending a service of remembrance at the Scottish National War Memorial on 27 May, the Moderator highlighted the need for the victims of all nations to be remembered. 'If remembrances were not to become just pious hypocrisy', he noted, 'then people should plan to bring together the west and east, north and south, and the first and third worlds.'⁹⁴

In its response to the Falklands War, the Church of Scotland failed to speak with a united voice and was, as one newspaper editorial described, 'more divided than the House of Commons.'⁹⁵ It did, however, attempt to wrestle seriously with the ethics of the war and, as Professor McIntyre indicated, it was aware of its important role in healing the spiritual wounds of the conflict. Yet it can be argued that the Church did not fulfil its prophetic role by collectively challenging the government's actions or by providing a clear alternative voice to some of the

⁹³The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Nation,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1983* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1983), pp. 132-133.

⁹⁴'Thoughts on War Victims,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 27 May 1982, p. 1.

⁹⁵'Editorial,' *The Scotsman*, 23 May 1982, p. 6.

outrageously jingoistic reporting of the conflict.

(C) The aftermath of the Falklands War and its impact on the community and on the individual.

News of the Argentine surrender on 14 June was met with a sense of relief by the nation. There were scenes of jingoistic pride, when crowds sang 'Rule Britannia' and rejoiced in Downing Street.⁹⁶ But *The Scotsman* struck a more sombre note:

Praise for the British Servicemen involved, pity for the ill-prepared Argentine conscripts, grief for the dead and maimed, concern about the impersonal ferocity of modern weapons of war - all these must be accompanied by regret that this conflict took place at all.⁹⁷

This was accompanied on 16 June by an article by Gordon Petrie in the *Glasgow Herald* which presented a detailed list of the British and Argentine losses. 'The cost of armed conflict comes in two instalments,' he wrote. 'The down payment, which Britain and Argentina have just met in full, is not refundable, cannot be written off, or translated into meaningful financial terms. Death, injury and human suffering write their own bill.'⁹⁸

Indeed, the cost of human life in the Falklands War was

⁹⁶'Night of Rejoicing in Downing Street,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 15 June 1982, p. 1.

⁹⁷'Editorial,' *The Scotsman*, 16 June 1982, p. 8.

⁹⁸Gordon Petrie, 'Calculating the Full Cost of Conflict,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 16 June 1982, p. 7.

high. 252 British servicemen lost their lives and 777 were wounded. The Argentine casualties were 655 dead and an estimated 1,105 wounded.⁹⁹ Comparing the British deaths with other conflicts in which Britain has been involved since 1945, they were not as high as Korea (537 deaths), Malaya (525 deaths) and Northern Ireland (352 deaths up to the end of the Falklands war).¹⁰⁰ However, the casualties in the South Atlantic occurred in only six weeks of fighting and represented one British serviceman dying for every seven Falkland Islanders. Twenty-four of the war dead hailed from Scotland.¹⁰¹

As the experience of previous wars shows, the reaction of the nation varied greatly in the aftermath of the Falklands conflict. Many Scots watched on television the arrival of the *Canberra* in Southampton with the returning troops and a good number would have been inspired by the chauvinistic scene. Elsewhere the reaction was tinged with relief that the conflict had ended. The town of Arbroath, for instance, was bedecked with bunting and there were open displays of emotion and joy when their loved ones returned.¹⁰² In more personal terms, the

⁹⁹Middlebrook, *Task Force*, pp. 382-385.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 382.

¹⁰¹I am grateful to Col. I. Shepherd of the Scottish National War Memorial for providing me with details of the Scottish dead.

¹⁰²Craig Millar, 'Pride, Joy and Sadness of Young Heroes' Return,' *The Scotsman*, 10 July 1982, p. 5.

feelings of grieving relatives ranged from pride to anger. As one Glasgow mother explained: 'I'm bitter he went through Ireland and then got killed for an island nobody had ever heard of.... But I knew he'd like it this way because he was so proud of his country.'¹⁰³

For those who served in the Falklands conflict, the experience of the war also differed. There were those who were able to display a certain detachment from events and justify the sacrifices made. 'They didn't die in vain,' noted Lt.-Col. Andrew Whitehead of the Royal Marines on his return to Arbroath, 'They died in the prosecution of a very difficult operation in a remote part of the world. They died bravely and I believe their cause was just.'¹⁰⁴

Yet there were those who had far more difficulty in coming to terms with the sacrifices involved in the war. There were those, for instance, like Lt. Robert Lawrence of the Scots Guards who was severely wounded in the fighting and would be physically impaired for life. 'My time in the Army was something I really enjoyed,' wrote Lawrence, 'and I was most disappointed when I realized how badly hurt I was and that I'd never be a soldier again.'¹⁰⁵ His story formed the basis of the

¹⁰³Letter to the Editor, *Glasgow Evening Times*, 8 July 1982, p. 6.

¹⁰⁴Millar, p. 5.

¹⁰⁵Lt. Robert Lawrence; quoted in Max Arthur, *Above All, Courage. The Falklands Front Line: First-hand Accounts* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1985), pp. 305-306.

controversial television drama, *Tumbledown*, which vividly portrayed his slow, painful and resentful rehabilitation.

There were also those who, although they bore no physical scars, were deeply traumatised by the carnage of the war. Alex Findlay served with the Scots Guards in the Falklands and revealed all the symptoms of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD):

I was always on a downer and unhappy. Then there was the occasional bingeing and drinking quite a lot and having occasional nightmares and flashbacks. I was just generally down all the time: depression. You just don't know what it is and you don't realise you are going through it yourself. Your friends and family, they are the ones that notice it, but you are the last person to know that there is something wrong.¹⁰⁶

In fact, one unofficial survey indicated that five years after the end of the war up to 50% of troops who had fought in the campaign displayed symptoms of PTSD and some 20% were suffering from the full PTSD syndrome.¹⁰⁷

In looking at the experiences of those who served in the Falklands War and those who stayed at home, there was an immeasurable gap to be bridged. The experience of the Falklands War was different from the First and Second World Wars in the sense that it was fought entirely by volunteer regular servicemen many of whom returned to the

¹⁰⁶Alex Findlay; interviewed in *Frontline Scotland: 'No Peace of Mind'*, BBC Scotland broadcast, 1995.

¹⁰⁷Hugh McManners, *The Scars of War* (London: Harper Collins, 1993), p. 402.

closed world of the services. Yet it was still important to try to reintegrate Falklands veterans into the corporate life of the nation which had been largely shielded from the bloody horrors of the conflict and still embodied a number of unresolved tensions over the war itself. The one point of reference to begin such a process was the mutual sense of loss which was shared by both servicemen and civilians alike.

(D) The response of the Church and the nation in the aftermath of the Falklands War.

On 15 June, the same day that the surrender was announced in the national press, the government put down a motion in the House of Commons calling for the marines, soldiers, sailors and airmen of the Task Force to be assembled in London after their return from the South Atlantic in order to take part in a victory parade.¹⁰⁸ The first concern of the government was, therefore, a display of jingoism rather than concern for the dead.

The Church of Scotland, however, saw its role as primarily with the bereaved. Shortly after the surrender, Robert Kernohan expressed in *Life and Work* the Church's concerns that 'too many brave and good people died for there to be any cheers.' Indeed, he argued, 'we must grieve not only for our own but for the Argentinians

¹⁰⁸'March of Triumph,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 15 June 1982, p. 1.

sacrificed by their reckless and corrupted Government.' 'Our mood,' he added, 'now will be a factor in deciding how Argentina emerges from the war its rulers brought about.'¹⁰⁹

In the meantime, the government did turn its mind to the planning of a special religious service to mark the end of the war. Following the national services of thanksgiving after the First and Second World Wars, the government consulted Lambeth Palace about the possibility of holding a national service in St Paul's Cathedral to mark the end of the Falklands War; the Cathedral already having been used for a special 'Falkland Islands Service of Prayer' at the beginning of the crisis.¹¹⁰ Lambeth Palace agreed and asked the Very Rev. Alan Webster, Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, to draw up the service. This was to be an ecumenical service of thanksgiving and remembrance for the whole United Kingdom (including Scotland) and was to take place in St Paul's on 26 July 1982.¹¹¹

2. The Ritual Act.

The Falklands service was one of the most

¹⁰⁹'Editorial,' *Life and Work* 38 (July 1982), p. 5.

¹¹⁰'Falkland Islands Service of Prayer,' *The Times*, 15 April 1982, p. 12.

¹¹¹Private Papers of the Very Rev. Alan Webster, 'Minutes of a Meeting held in the Deanary Room on Wednesday, June 30.'

controversial events that the churches were involved in over the last few decades. Unlike the national services after the First and Second World Wars, the service was planned by a number of representatives from the Church, the military and the government under the convenorship of Alan Webster. The Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Rt. Rev. Professor John McIntyre, was not part of the planning group but was informed of events.¹¹²

Although Sir Arthur Hockaday, the Second Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of Defence, who represented the government on the planning group, argues that the disputes between the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, and the churches over the planning of the service have been exaggerated, nevertheless, it is clear that there was tension between the two sides.¹¹³

To begin with, there were tensions over the title and theme of the service. Mrs Thatcher was obviously keen that the service should be suitably jingoistic and was eager that the title of the service should include the word 'thanksgiving' to mark the task force's successful liberation of the Falkland Islands from a cruel regime. The Churches, however, were doubtful. The Archbishop of Canterbury's representative, Bishop Hook, argued that the

¹¹²The Very Rev. Professor John McIntyre, interview with author, 2 April 1996.

¹¹³Sir Arthur Hockaday, letter to author, 5 October 1992.

Archbishop, as an international denominational head, did not want a mood of 'triumphantness' at the service.¹¹⁴ Moreover, Cardinal Hume's representative, Father John Crowley, actually took the Rev. Webster into a separate room and bluntly told him that the Cardinal would not attend the service if it conveyed an overtly political message or celebrated Britain's victory. The Cardinal's concern, it was said, was not simply for one nation, but for the international community as a whole.¹¹⁵ In the end it was decided that the title of the service should be 'The Falkland Islands Service', and that although there would be a brief note of thanksgiving at the beginning of the service, the major themes would be of remembrance for those who had died and peace and reconciliation. It was also agreed that those participating in the service would be church representatives and not politicians or Generals.¹¹⁶

There was also some tension over the choice of hymns. Mrs Thatcher was clearly in favour of including some

¹¹⁴Private Papers of the Very Rev. Alan Webster, 'Minutes of a Meeting held in the Deanery Room on Wednesday, June 30,' p. 1.

¹¹⁵The Very. Rev. Alan Webster, taped interview with author, 24 November 1994. In a telephone conversation prior to this meeting, Cardinal Hume also stated to the Free Church Federal Council Moderator, the Rev. Dr Kenneth Greet, that he would not take part in the service if Mrs Thatcher was to read one of the lessons. The Rev. Dr Kenneth G. Greet, letter to author, 4 August 1995.

¹¹⁶The Very Rev. Alan Webster, taped interview with author, 24 November 1994.

jingoistic hymns in the service and when she was presented with some suggestions by the planning group she was clearly disappointed. 'I do remember,' recalls Arthur Hockaday, 'that the Prime Minister was not familiar with "All my hope on God is founded", and that Robert Armstrong [the Cabinet Secretary] had to sing the tune!' 'There were one or two suggestions,' he continues, 'that some more "robust" hymns might have been chosen'.¹¹⁷ In the end, however, the hymn was included in the service and the other hymns were similarly pastoral.

There was some further tension over the prayers to be used in the service. At one point it was suggested to the planning group that the Lord's Prayer should be said in both English and Spanish during the service, and the Moderators of the United Reformed Church and the Methodists even suggested that Argentines should be invited to attend. The planning group rejected these suggestions as being unsuitable in view of the task force's bereaved,¹¹⁸ but not before Mrs Thatcher had made her chauvinistic disapproval known about the Lord's Prayer in Spanish in the House of Commons.¹¹⁹ Some concessions were also made over a proposed prayer for

¹¹⁷Sir Arthur Hockaday, letter to author, 5 October 1992.

¹¹⁸Private Papers of the Very Rev. Alan Webster, 'Minutes of Meeting held in the Deanery Room on Wednesday, June 30,' pp. 1-2; The Very Rev. Alan Webster, taped interview with author, 24 November 1994.

¹¹⁹'St Paul's Service,' *The Church Times*, 9 July 1982, p. 1.

peace to be said at the service by the Methodist Leader and representative of the Free Church Federal Council, the Rev. Dr. Kenneth Greet. Greet had taken a staunch anti-war line during the conflict and his proposed prayer reflected his personal views on the war. Perhaps fearing Mrs Thatcher's reaction, some of the more outspoken aspects of the prayer were omitted.¹²⁰

The negotiations surrounding the form and order of the service thus led to some tension between the government and the Church, but also became a focus of public debate. Alan Webster, for example, received nearly four hundred letters expressing a wide range of opinions about the proposed service.¹²¹ On the one hand, there were those who were in favour of what was being planned. One Scottish correspondent praised Webster for 'standing firm' and 'not bending to the demands of national glory'.¹²² Another writer expressed gratitude that the Church had 'succeeded in producing a Service which will not condone aggression or applaud and enforce some of the darker sides of our National character.'¹²³ On the other hand, however, there were those who criticised the Church

¹²⁰The Very Rev. Alan Webster, taped interview with author, 24 November 1994.

¹²¹Private Papers of the Very Rev. Alan Webster, 'Personal Reflections on the Falkland Islands Service.'

¹²²Private Papers of the Very Rev. Alan Webster, letter to the Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, 12 July 1982.

¹²³Private Papers of the Very Rev. Alan Webster, letter to the Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, 23 July 1982.

for planning a service which, in one correspondent's opinion, would be 'a sickening spectacle of the Christian faith being used to set the seal of approval on the dubious actions of the state.'¹²⁴ Such divergent opinions perhaps suggest that Alan Webster was more or less on the right lines.

Having considered something of the context in which the service was planned it is important to turn our attention to the service itself and give a description of the ritual act. On 26 July 1982, 'The Falkland Islands Service' took place in St Paul's Cathedral in the presence of leading political and civic figures, representatives from the three services, including some of those wounded in the war, the families of the bereaved and members of the Royal Family. After the arrival at the Cathedral of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London, members of the Royal Family passed a small military guard of honour on the steps of St. Paul's and were received at the West Door by Alan Webster and the Chapter, the Bishop of London, the Rt. Rev. and Rt. Hon. Graham Leonard, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Most Rev. and Rt. Hon. Robert Runcie. The Royal Party was then conducted to the Chapel of St Michael and St George and from there processed to its seats under the Dome. The Queen's Procession was headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury,

¹²⁴Private Papers of the Very Rev. Alan Webster, letter to the Dean of St Paul's Cathedral, 14 July 1982.

the Bishop of London and the Dean accompanied by Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother. The Lord Mayor preceeded the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh.¹²⁵ The music played immediately before the service began was Bach's 'Jesu Joy of Man's Desiring,', Gunoud's 'Judex from More's E Vite,' and Elgar's 'Nimrod from the Enigma Variations.'¹²⁶

The theme for the first section of the service was 'thanksgiving' and it began with the hymn, 'Praise, my soul, the King of heaven'.¹²⁷ After the hymn, the Dean said the Bidding. This was followed by the prayers of thanksgiving led by the Chaplain of the Fleet, the Venerable Raymond Roberts, which ended with the congregation reading part of the prayer together. The congregation then stood to sing the hymn, 'All my hope on God is founded'. After the hymn, the first lesson, Micah 4: 1-4, was read by the Moderator of the United Reformed Church, Mrs Rosiland Goodfellow.¹²⁸

The theme of the second section was 'remembrance' and it was introduced by an ordinary serving member of the Task Force who invited the congregation to 'Remember before

¹²⁵Private Papers of the Very Rev. Alan Webster, 'Order of Procession for Falkland Islands Service.'

¹²⁶Private Papers of the Very Rev. Alan Webster, 'Music for the Falkland Islands Service.'

¹²⁷Private Papers of the Very Rev. Alan Webster, 'St Paul's Cathedral. The Falkland Islands Service, Monday 26 July 1982,' [hereafter Appendix 3], p. 255.

¹²⁸Appendix 3, pp. 256-258.

God those who died in the conflict.' He quoted verse twenty seven from Deuteronomy chapter thirty three: 'The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms.' The congregation then sang the hymn 'Let saints on earth in concert sing', which was followed by the second lesson from Matthew 5: 1-12 read by the Chaplain of the Second Battalion Parachute Regiment, the Rev. David Cooper. After the lesson was read, the choir sang the Anthem which was based on the text from the Book of Revelation 21: 1-4. The sermon was then preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Following the sermon, a prayer was said for the wounded by the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Right Rev. Professor John McIntyre, and the Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Basil Hume, said a prayer for remembrance. This section of the liturgy concluded with the sounding of 'The Last Post', a 'Two Minutes Silence', and the playing of the 'Reveille'.¹²⁹

'Peace and reconciliation' was the theme of the final section in the service and it began with an ordinary serving member of the Task Force reading from St John's Gospel, chapter 14: 'Jesus said: "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give you. Let not your hearts be troubled, neither let them be afraid.'" The congregation then sang Psalm 23, 'The Lord's

¹²⁹Appendix 3, pp. 258-261.

my Shepherd'. The third lesson from Ephesians 4: 25-end was read by the Canon of St Pauls, the Rev. Dr Douglas Webster. This was followed by a Prayer of Confession and Absolution led by the Bishop of London and a Prayer for Peace led by the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, the Rev. Dr Kenneth Greet. To conclude both these prayers, the congregation said the Lord's Prayer together. The service ended with the Blessing by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the singing of the National Anthem.¹³⁰

Alan Webster and the Chapter of St Pauls, together with the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury then conducted the Queen's Procession and the members of the Royal Family to the West Door. The Lord Mayor, bearing the Pearl Sword, preceded the Royal Procession. The cathedral choir, visiting clergy and church dignitaries then followed.¹³¹ The music played for the recessional began with Grieg's 'Homage March from Sigurd Jorsalfar'.¹³²

3. The Ritual Functions.

(A) The political function.

¹³⁰Appendix 3, pp. 261-264.

¹³¹Private Papers of the Very Rev. Alan Webster, 'Order of Procession for the Falkland Islands Service.'

¹³²Private Papers of The Very Rev. Alan Webster, 'Music for the Falkland Islands Service.'

(i) A functionalist analysis.

Building on the work of Durkheim, Geertz and Bocock, the functionalist view sees ritual as maintaining the dominant values of society. In contrast to the national services after the First and Second Wars, this was not such a feature of the service after the Falklands War. Primarily, at the insistence of the Churches, the planning of the service was not so surrounded by civic ceremony. The service was attended by a number of civic and political notables and a small military guard of honour was placed on the steps of St. Pauls consisting of thirty-four members of the Task Force. There were, however, no well-publicised royal ceremonies before or after the service; there was no royal inspection of the service personnel present; and there was no display of military colours either inside or outside the Church.¹³³ Indeed, Robert Bocock has stated that the matter of civic participation was at the heart of tensions between the Church and the government in the planning of the service:

The disagreement can be seen in terms of whether the ritual should have been primarily civic, in which the feelings and values of a particular government and of some groups in Britain would be articulated, or whether it should be more in keeping with the feelings and values of the

¹³³ 'Bid to Avoid Militarism at St Paul's,' *The Church Times*, 23 July 1982, p. 1.

bereaved on both sides of the conflict.¹³⁴

On this occasion, the latter sentiment was to prevail and the ritual did not become so associated with the governing establishment.

Furthermore, in contrast to the national services after the First and Second World Wars, the jingoistic theme of British greatness was not such a feature of the service. To begin with, whilst members of the Royal Family were in attendance at the service, there was no reference to the Queen in the prayers and the sermon. This meant that the service came across as much more of a religious, rather than a royal, event.

The theme of British greatness was also downplayed by the fact that, whilst the first section of the service was devoted to thanksgiving, and the 'courage, determination and endurance' of those who fought was highlighted, there was no mention of victory. Rather, the emphasis was on thanksgiving that the war was over. 'We meet to worship God,' noted Alan Webster in the opening line of his Bidding. 'We thank him for the cessation of hostilities in the South Atlantic.'¹³⁵ 'After the hard-fought battle of Goose Green,' added the Archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Runcie, in his sermon, 'the reaction was not the

¹³⁴Robert Bocock, 'Religion in Modern Britain,' in *Religion and Ideology* eds., Robert Bocock and Kenneth Thompson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), p. 213.

¹³⁵Appendix 3, p. 256.

conquerors' triumph, but "thank God it's stopped." It is right to be proud of such men'.¹³⁶

Indeed, the extent to which thanksgiving for victory was omitted from the service was illustrated by the reaction of a number of Conservative MPs who would have preferred a more jingoistic line. Edward Du Cann, the Chairman of the Tory 1922 Committee, was said to be 'sad and disappointed' that there had been no mention of Britain standing alone for international law; Julian Amery described the service as 'disgraceful' and thought it 'more suitable for Buenos Aires than here'; Sir John Biggs-Davidson thought it was 'revolting for cringing clergy to misuse St Paul's to throw doubt upon the sacrifices of our fighting men';¹³⁷ and Mrs Thatcher was said to be 'livid' that the Church had successfully stifled any rejoicing at victory.¹³⁸ Even some clergy objected. 'What real comfort can it be to the bereaved,' wrote one Scottish evangelical minister, 'to tell them that their sons and their husbands have died gaining a victory for which we cannot thank God!'¹³⁹

¹³⁶Robert Runcie, *Windows onto God* (London: SPCK, 1983), p. 107. [hereafter Appendix 3], p. 266.

¹³⁷Susan Young, 'Churchmen Defend Falklands Service against the Critics,' *The Church Times*, 30 July 1982, p. 1.

¹³⁸Geoffrey Parkhouse, 'Premier "Livid" over Service,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 27 July 1982, p. 1.

¹³⁹N. M. de S. Cameron, letter to the Editor, *The Times*, 30 July 1982, p. 11.

The idea of Britain's greatness was further downplayed in the service by the choice of music before the service began. Rather than some chauvinistic piece such as the Air from Elgar's Pomp and Circumstance, much more solemn music was played in the form of Bach's 'Jesu Joy of Man's Desiring,' Gunoud's 'Judex' from More's E Vite,¹⁴⁰ and Elgar's 'Nimrod' from the Enigma Variations.¹⁴⁰ On this occasion, then, there was a much greater balance between the concepts of thanksgiving and remembrance.

With the idea of British greatness not such a feature, to an even greater extent than the national services after the First and Second World Wars, the service focused on concern for the worship of God, rather than the nation state. Certainly, the presence of the Royal Family and leading civic and political dignitaries might have blurred to some degree the distinction between the nation and God, but the 'thanksgiving' section of the liturgy was overwhelmingly a humble act of gratitude to God. Not only did Alan Webster's opening lines of the Bidding emphasise that the congregation met to worship God and to give him thanks for the cessation of hostilities, but Raymond Roberts's prayer began with the words: 'Let us thank God for his goodness and mercy' and continued 'Almighty God, Father of all mercies, we your unworthy servants give you most humble and hearty thanks for all

¹⁴⁰Private Papers of the Very Rev. Alan Webster, 'Music for the Falkland Islands Service.'

your goodness and loving kindness to us and to all men.'¹⁴¹ The theme of thanksgiving to God was further embodied in the two well-known hymns sung during this section of the service, 'Praise, my soul, the King of heaven' and 'All my hope on God is founded.'¹⁴²

The extent to which the service focused on the worship of God, rather than the nation state, was again illustrated by criticism from Conservative MPs. John Gummer stated that the second thanksgiving hymn, 'All my hope on God is founded', was inappropriate and suggested that the words 'Pride of man and earthly glory, Sword and crown betray his trust' could be misunderstood as being directly critical of the government's actions in the Falklands.¹⁴³ According to Bocock, the service 'was meant to be a piece of uncontroversial civic ritual as far as the Prime Minister and other ministers of state were concerned.'¹⁴⁴

In analysing the functionalist aspects of the national service, the fact that the theme of remembrance was stronger than national greatness would suggest that the ritual might correspond more closely to Warner's civic ritual of American Memorial Day. Interestingly, however,

¹⁴¹Appendix 3, p. 256.

¹⁴²Appendix 3, pp. 255, 257.

¹⁴³John Gummer, letter to the Editor, *The Times*, 29 July 1982, p. 11.

¹⁴⁴Bocock, p. 213.

the service did not conform as closely to Warner's ideas as that apparent in the services after the First and Second World Wars. Not only were no wreaths laid during the service, but the liturgy did not symbolise the sacrifice of those who died for their country in the war and there was no mention of the living being indebted to the dead. Moreover, the liturgy specifically contradicted the idea that death in battle was a martyr's death and that the valiant dead were to be equated with the saints. The remembrance hymn, 'Let saints on earth in concert sing', served to reinforce the relationship between the living and the dead in the communal service of God: 'For all the servants of our King, In heaven and earth are one.'¹⁴⁵ The inclusion of the petition for the dead also served as a reminder that the living and the dead are still joined together with prayer: 'God our Father, in whom the dead find life, listen we beseech you to our prayers. Grant that all who have fallen in battle may find in you the peace that this world cannot give, and eternal joy.'¹⁴⁶ In the national service, therefore, it can be argued that the those who died in the war did not become powerful sacred symbols promoting all that was great and good about Britain.

Insights into the functionalist aspect of the ritual in the national service can also be gained from Robert

¹⁴⁵Appendix 3, pp. 258-259.

¹⁴⁶Appendix 3, p. 260.

Bellah's work on American civil religion. In contrast to the national services after the First and Second World Wars, the concept of 'negative nationalism', or the idea of 'anamnesis' in relation to Britain as God's chosen nation, with which Bellah's ideas can be associated, were not such a feature of the service. On the contrary, in his sermon Robert Runcie spoke of overcoming the deadly selfishness of race, sect or class by discovering ourselves as children of the 'universal God of love':

When a man realizes that he is a beloved child of the Creator of all, then he is ready to see his neighbours in the world as brothers and sisters. That is one reason why those who dare to interpret God's will must never claim him as an asset for one nation or group rather than another. War springs from the love and loyalty which should be offered to God being applied to some God-substitute, one of the most dangerous being nationalism.¹⁴⁷

What was more, there was a clear expression of regret at the loss of life suffered by the enemy. In his prayer during the 'remembrance' section of the service, John McIntyre commended to God's loving care 'all who have been wounded in body, mind or spirit in recent conflict', and Basil Hume asked God to grant that 'all who have fallen in battle may find in you the peace that this world cannot give'.¹⁴⁸

Moreover, in contrast to the national services after the

¹⁴⁷Appendix 3, p. 268.

¹⁴⁸Appendix 3, p. 260.

First and Second World Wars, the idea of 'positive nationalism' was also not such a feature of the service. To begin with, there were no references in the service to a sense of national belonging or community spirit during the war. Furthermore, whilst the theme of Britain turning outward and promoting international reconciliation was picked up by Runcie in his sermon, on this occasion the victors were as much regarded as victims as the losers. 'Common sorrow,' he argued, 'could do something to reunite those who were engaged in this struggle. A shared anguish can be a bridge of reconciliation. Our neighbours are indeed like us'.¹⁴⁹

Indeed, Runcie made it clear in his sermon that the Church did not exist to back up the presuppositions of individuals or political parties but was there to give expression to God's grace and love:

I have had an avalanche of letters and advice about this service. Some correspondents have asked 'why drag God in?' as if the intention was to wheel up God to endorse some particular policy or attitude rather than another. The purpose of prayer and of services like this is very different and there is hope for the world in the difference.¹⁵⁰

From this functionalist perspective, it can thus be argued that, in comparison to the national services after the First and Second World Wars (and the First World War

¹⁴⁹Appendix 3, p. 268.

¹⁵⁰Ibid.

in particular), the political function of the ritual did not attempt to legitimate the dominant political and social structures in the aftermath of the Falklands War. In this sense, the service did have more to offer on this occasion to those who had lost faith in God's providential plan for the world. As ritual functions within a surplus of meanings, however, it is necessary to determine to what extent the service transcended the dominant values of the nation state and presented an alternative vision of society.

(ii) An interactionist analysis.

In contrast to the functionalist view of ritual which is concerned with maintaining the status quo, ritual can also challenge dominant social changes as Kertzer, Driver, Flanagan, Forrester, McDonald and Tellini have indicated. As would be expected in a service that did not emphasise British greatness, in comparison with the national services after the First and Second World Wars, the Falklands liturgy did present a more radical challenge to the dominant values in society.

To begin with, the readings in the 'thanksgiving' and 'remembrance' sections of the service presented a more complete picture of the realised kingdom. The first lesson read from the book of the prophecy of Micah suggested that after the terrible destruction visited upon the temple of Zion, the people were promised a

future of justice, peace and prosperity. Jerusalem was to become the messianic city of the Lord where the power of money will no longer hold sway, oppression of the poor and the weak will disappear and the human ego will be eliminated. The will of God was to be the deciding factor in all human relations and Micah portrays a society that rejects war and follows the path of peace: 'and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks'.¹⁵¹ Here we have a vision of the coming of God's Kingdom which conforms to Elaine Ramshaw's view that when liturgy ascribes all honour, power and glory to God alone, so it challenges all human claims to ultimate allegiance and acts as a prophetic critique.¹⁵²

The reading from St Matthew's Gospel, the Beatitudes of Jesus, provides a further insight into God's Kingdom. This first section of the Sermon on the Mount, which parallels the Mosaic law revealed on Mount Sinai (Exodus. 19-24), challenges many of the assumptions of the Old Testament and would have been considered revolutionary by the religious establishment of the day. The writers of Deuteronomy and Proverbs had argued, for example, that material wealth and earthly success were signs of divine

¹⁵¹Micah 4: 3b; Juan I. Alfaro, *Justice and Loyalty. A Commentary on the Book of Micah* (Edinburgh, The Handsel Press, 1989), pp. 42-49.

¹⁵²Elaine Ramshaw, *Ritual and Pastoral Care* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), p. 95.

favour, while poverty and misfortune were evidence of divine punishment, and that martial qualities were to be encouraged.¹⁵³ But here Jesus declared that the poor, the mourners, the meek, and those who hunger, thirst and endure persecution were specially blessed, and that the peacemakers 'shall be called sons of God'.¹⁵⁴

Here then we have a vision of the coming of God's Kingdom that builds on the reading from Micah and provides a fundamental challenge to what many considered to be the materialistic, self-centred, uncompassionate and chauvinistic aspects of Britain in the early 1980s. It was upon such teaching that the liturgy of the Falkland Islands Service was founded. As Stewart Lamont writing for the *Glasgow Herald* noted: 'We ought to be grateful that we have a Pope, and an Archbishop of Canterbury, and a Moderator who say the same kind of things as we read in the Sermon on the Mount and apply them to modern situations.'¹⁵⁵ It is perhaps not surprising, therefore, that the service was criticised by some figures in the Conservative party.

Robert Runcie, speaking as a holder of the Military Cross and a man conversant with the tragedy of battle, provided a further glimpse of the Kingdom of God in his sermon.

¹⁵³Deuteronomy 20, 28; Proverbs 22.

¹⁵⁴Matthew 5: 1-12.

¹⁵⁵Stewart Lamont, 'It is only Juntas....', *The Glasgow Herald*, 28 July 1982, p. 6.

Picking up on the theme of 'Blessed are the peacemakers' from the reading from Matthew, not only did he criticise the great nations of the world for channelling their energies into perfecting weapons of mass destruction and encouraging the international arms trade which 'contributes so much to insecurity in the world', but he stressed that in a world of economic interdependence 'you cannot injure one state without damaging your own interests'.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, he went as far as to state that 'War is a sign of human failure and everything we say and do in this service must be in that context'.¹⁵⁷ Rather, he argued, man had the means to save himself and his race from obliteration by choosing a life in partnership with God the Father of all. 'Man without God,' he noted, 'finds it difficult to achieve this revolution inside himself. But talk of peace and reconciliation is just fanciful and theoretical unless we are prepared to undergo such a revolution'.¹⁵⁸

Building on this, in the 'peace and reconciliation' section of the service Kenneth Greet identified that the major enemies of mankind should not be fellow men but poverty, hunger and disease. 'Give us the will to build defences against these,' he noted, 'instead of against

¹⁵⁶Appendix 3, p. 267.

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸Appendix 3, p. 269.

each other.'¹⁵⁹ In this sense, then, the service embodied to a significant extent the transforming quality of the ritual. What was being suggested was not just an improved version of dominant values, but a fundamental challenge to those values.

Overall, then, in contrast to the national services after the First and Second World Wars, the political function of the ritual in the service after the Falklands War did serve to challenge the jingoistic sentiments that had featured during the war.

(B) The pastoral function.

Alongside the political function of the ritual, it is necessary to study the national service as a rite of passage in order to judge the extent to which it addressed the needs of those who grieved.

Van Gennep's first phase, the 'pre-liminal', can be associated with the work of Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck on feelings of separation during the grief process. To a greater extent than the national services after the First and Second World Wars, the service acknowledged the trauma of separation. In the Bidding, Alan Webster called the congregation 'to share in the sufferings of those who mourn, and pray that God

¹⁵⁹Appendix 3, p. 263.

may strengthen them now and in the years ahead.'¹⁶⁰ In his sermon, Robert Runcie announced that all were in mourning for grievous losses and that 'the parent who comes mourning the loss of a son may find here consolation'.¹⁶¹ In his Prayer for Remembrance, Cardinal Basil Hume specifically prayed for those who had lost their loved ones and asked God to 'comfort and console those who mourn and grieve'.¹⁶² Moreover, the playing of the 'Last Post' and the 'Reveille' and the 'Two Minutes Silence' were moving symbols of the pain of separation. As the *The Church Times* commented: 'it was the Last Post, a deeply evocative call for Servicemen and their families, that the service came alive - and began to hurt. Quietly, people cried.'¹⁶³ Perhaps the most obvious recognition of the trauma of separation was the presence of a large number of bereaved at the service. As *The Scotsman* observed: 'A young girl in black, no more than 23 and now a Falklands widow, quietly wept. She sat with others like her in a place of honour near the Queen and the Prime Minister'.¹⁶⁴ Despite the unavoidable pain, it could thus be argued that the service did provide a good deal of comfort to the bereaved in the first stage of the

¹⁶⁰Appendix 3, p. 256.

¹⁶¹Appendix 3, p. 269.

¹⁶²Appendix 3, p. 260.

¹⁶³Young, p. 16.

¹⁶⁴Leslie Jarman, 'Pomp, Pride and Tears at the Falklands Service,' *The Scotsman*, 27 July 1982, p. 6.

grief process.

Van Gennep's second stage is the 'liminal' and here, in the view of Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck, various emotions are released – ranging from guilt to confusion to bitterness. Again, compared to the national services after the First and Second World Wars, the service paid greater attention to these emotions. For those who felt guilt, a separate prayer of confession and absolution was incorporated into the 'peace and reconciliation' section of the service: 'Almighty God, our heavenly Father, we have sinned against you and against our fellow men, in thought and word and deed, through negligence, through weakness, through our own deliberate fault.'¹⁶⁵ After naming their sins before God, the congregation then acknowledged responsibility for such actions and sought forgiveness for them: 'We are truly sorry, and repent of all our sins. For the sake of your Son Jesus Christ, who died for us, forgive us all that is past; and grant that we may serve you in newness of life to the glory of your name.'¹⁶⁶ Moreover, not only did John McIntyre and Basil Hume pray for *all* the casualties of the war, both British and Argentine, but in his sermon Robert Runcie evoked a spirit which 'enlarges our compassion to include all those Argentine parents who

¹⁶⁵Appendix 3, p. 262.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

have lost sons'.¹⁶⁷

For those that felt confusion, the 'remembrance' section of the service began with a reading from Deuteronomy 33:27, 'The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms', and John McIntyre prayed for the 'mentally distraught' and asked for a 'strengthening of the spirit and confidence.'¹⁶⁸ In the 'peace and reconciliation' section of the service the reading from John 14: 27 called on the congregation to 'Let not your hearts be troubled, neither let them be afraid', and the hymn was 'The Lord's my Shepherd', a classic Psalm in which the Lord protects his flock from danger, leads it to quiet waters and restores its soul.¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, Robert Runcie made a point of comforting the confused in his sermon:

In our prayers we come into the presence of the living God. We come with our very human emotions, pride in achievement and courage, grief at loss and waste. We come as we are and not just mouthing opinions and thanksgivings which the fashion of the moment judges acceptable. As we pour into our prayer our mourning, our pride, our shame and our convictions, which will inevitably differ from person to person, if we are really present and really reaching out to God and not just demanding his endorsement, then God is able to work upon us.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷Appendix 3, p. 269.

¹⁶⁸Appendix 3, p. 260.

¹⁶⁹Appendix 3, pp. 261-262.

¹⁷⁰Appendix 3, pp. 268-269.

For those that felt bitterness, in the 'peace and reconciliation' section of the service the lesson from Ephesians 4: 25-end called on the congregation to 'Let all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamour and slander be put away from you, with all malice, and be kind to one another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, as God in Christ forgave you'.¹⁷¹ Kenneth Greet's prayer included the plea: 'Eternal God, as the rainbow spans the heavens when clouds are dark, so our strifes and enmities stand under the judgement of your over-arching love and righteousness. We thank you for those who were in former times our enemies, but are now our friends'.¹⁷² 'In meeting God,' observed Robert Runcie in his sermon, 'a man is shown his failures and his lack of integrity, but he is also given strength to turn more and more of his life and actions into love and compassion for other men like himself'.¹⁷³ It could thus be argued that the service did provide the bereaved with a good deal of comfort at the second stage of the grief process.

Moreover, since the focus of the service was less on thanksgiving for victory and more geared towards the needs of the grieving, by including much that was relevant to the 'liminal' stage so, in contrast to the national services after the First and Second World Wars,

¹⁷¹Appendix 3, p. 262.

¹⁷²Appendix 3, p. 263.

¹⁷³Appendix 3, p. 269.

the ritual had much more potential to be the agent of Turner's 'communitas'. Indeed, the spirit of mutual bonding which he regarded as being important for the process of transformation was assisted by the truly ecumenical nature of the service, the fact that church leaders with differing political views of the war took part, and that the service was broadcast across the British Isles on both radio and television.

Van Gennep's third phase is 'post-liminal' and, through the work of Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck, involves the bereaved coming to terms with their grief. Although the liturgy ended with the singing of the National Anthem (again featuring the verse 'Thy choicest gifts in store'), which emphasised national greatness rather than hope for the future, to a greater extent than the national services after the First and Second World Wars, the service sought to communicate a vision of hope and new life. To begin with, Alan Webster ended his Bidding by asking that the congregation commit themselves to be 'makers of peace in a divided world' and the hymn in the thanksgiving section of the service, 'All my hope on God is founded', describes a vision in which 'New-born worlds rise and adore'.¹⁷⁴ In the 'remembrance' section of the service, the hymn, 'Let Saints on earth in concert sing' portrays a comforting image of the dead safely

¹⁷⁴Appendix 3, pp. 256-257.

transported across the Jordan river to heaven, and the reading from Revelation 21: 1-4 looks to a future when there will be 'no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain'.¹⁷⁵ This was then picked up on by Basil Hume in his prayer when he called on God to 'Banish violence from our midst and wipe away our tears, so that we may not only be called your sons and daughters, but live as true brothers and sisters in Christ your son'.¹⁷⁶ In the 'peace and reconciliation' section of the service, Psalm 23 continues the theme of God providing a safe haven - for the living as well as the dead - in which goodness and mercy will be manifest, and Kenneth Greet's prayer portrayed a world in which the scattered flock of Christ forms a deeper unity and becomes the instrument of peace.¹⁷⁷ As Robert Runcie concluded in his sermon: 'Today we bring our mixture of thanksgiving, sorrows and aspirations for a better ordering of this world.'¹⁷⁸ Again, it could be argued that the service would have provided a good deal of comfort to the bereaved during this third phase of the grief process. Indeed, John McIntyre, the Moderator of the General Assembly, who as we have seen represented the Church of Scotland at the service, is of the opinion that

¹⁷⁵Appendix 3, pp. 258-259.

¹⁷⁶Appendix 3, p. 260.

¹⁷⁷Appendix 3, pp. 261-263.

¹⁷⁸Appendix 3, p. 269.

the liturgy was as pastoral in its function as it was possible to be in the context of a national service of remembrance and thanksgiving.¹⁷⁹

Interestingly, one further indication of the pastoral spirit in which the service was conducted is evident from the fact that, unknown to the congregation or the media, Alan Webster had placed a small souvenir medal of the Blessed Virgin Mary from the National Shrine of Our Lady of Luján in Argentina on the high altar during the service. This had been sent to him by an Argentine woman who had worn the medal as a symbol of peace during the conflict and had sent it to him as a token of reconciliation and as a sign that all were equal in the sight of God.¹⁸⁰

Having examined both the political and pastoral functions of the ritual, we can see that there was some degree of tension between the two in the national service after the Falklands War. At the end of the war once more the Scots had good reason to grieve and the national service had the potential to comfort the bereaved. Yet, whilst the political function of the ritual was still in evidence (especially in its interactionist aspect), in contrast to the national services after the First and Second World

¹⁷⁹The Very Rev. Professor John McIntyre, interview with the author, 2 April, 1996.

¹⁸⁰'The Medal that Spoke of Peace,' *The Church Times*, 30 July 1982, pp. 1, 16.

Wars, the pastoral function was now dominant and in this respect it can be argued that the Church (although in a strictly ecumenical sense on this occasion) had to a greater extent met the needs of the Scottish people.

6. THE NATIONAL SERVICE OF THANKSGIVING AND REMEMBRANCE AFTER THE GULF WAR.

After the Falklands War of 1982 the nation could be forgiven for thinking that in the foreseeable future Britain would not be forced to send her armed forces into battle again, and this was made more unlikely by the dramatic ending of the cold war in the late 1980s. Yet in 1991 British forces were called upon to go to war with Iraq over Kuwait and once more the whole concept of thanksgiving and remembrance became a focus of debate. Again, the decision was taken to hold one national service after the war which catered for the entire United Kingdom (including Scotland) and on this occasion it was to be held in Glasgow. It is this service that this chapter will discuss.

1. The Ritual Context.

(A) The life of the nation and the Church from 1982 to 1991.

Once the fighting was over in 1982 and the national service had taken place, again the Scottish people were faced with coming to terms with the human tragedy of war, albeit on a mercifully reduced scale than the world wars. The successful outcome of the war significantly strengthened the Conservative government's electoral position and laid the basis for the further implementation of the Thatcherite policies of the 1980s,

which in Scotland led to rising unemployment, industrial decay, greater divisions between rich and poor and a growing frustration with Westminster government.

In the meantime, the Church continued to try to reverse its decline in membership which had begun in the late 1950s and continued into the 1980s. One way in which the Church tried to reassert itself in the life of the nation was to revise some of the music and language used in Church services in order to make them more relevant to the needs of modern society.¹ Another way was by the Church becoming more involved in social and economic issues. In response to an instruction from the General Assembly in 1982 'to consider the current economic change and social crisis in Scotland and to seek to clarify the Church's understanding,'² the Church and Nation Committee set up sub-committees to address such issues as employment prospects in Scotland, the distribution of wealth, income and benefits, and industrial changes.³ Indeed, the Church and Nation Committee adopted the role of speaking out on behalf of Scotland's poor and became a

¹The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Panel on Worship,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1987* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1987), pp. 148-152.

²The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Nation,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1984* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1984), p. 96.

³Ibid., p. 97.

focus of criticism of Thatcherite Scotland.⁴

Not all church members, however, believed that the Church should adopt such an outspoken role. According to a Lifestyle Survey produced by the Church's Board of Social Responsibility in 1987, it was found that the views presented by the Church and Nation Committee did not always reflect the opinions of the largely conservative middle class membership of the Church.⁵ Ronald Ferguson argues that a group of supporters of the Conservative party was formed at the end of the 1980s to counteract the 'left-wing' bias of the Church of Scotland,⁶ and this view was endorsed when an unsuccessful, but highly orchestrated, attempt was made by a 'right-wing' group of ministers to disband the Church and Nation Committee because it was too political.⁷

The government also clashed with the Church. Mrs Thatcher claimed that the sort of individualism that she was promoting was based on the teachings of the Christian

⁴The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Nation,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1986* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1986), pp. 86-87.

⁵The Church of Scotland, Board of Social Responsibility, *Lifestyle Survey* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland Board of Social Responsibility, 1987), pp. 77-78, 169.

⁶Ronald Ferguson, *George MacLeod. Founder of the Iona Community* (London: William Collins Sons & Co., 1990), p. 414.

⁷Ibid.

faith',⁸ and when she made a speech to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1988 she was at pains to point out that the Christian faith was about the pursuit of bourgeois values rather than airy-fairy idealism. 'Christianity is about spiritual redemption,' she argued, 'not social reform'.⁹ The Prime Minister's speech, which became termed 'The Sermon on the Mound',¹⁰ caused widespread protest amongst church members and in many ways led to a further widening of the gulf between the government and the Church. One correspondent to *Life and Work* complained that Thatcher had used the occasion to deliver 'a party political broadcast on behalf of a minority party in Scotland.'¹¹ 'One of the oddities of recent British history,' observes Duncan Forrester, 'is that Mrs Thatcher and her colleagues have shown far more interest in church affairs, and devoted far more energy attacking the churches than any other government for many decades.'¹²

⁸Henry Clark, *The Church Under Thatcher* (London: SPCK, 1993), pp. 10-11.

⁹Margaret Thatcher, 'The Sermon on the Mound. Speaking Personally as a Christian,' *Life and Work* 44 (July 1988), pp. 18, 21.

¹⁰Clark, p. 11.

¹¹George M. Russell, letter to the Editor, *Life and Work* 44 (July 1988), p. 6; see also Charles S. Robertson, letter to the Editor, *Life and Work* 44 (July 1988), p. 6; Susan Jamieson, letter to the Editor, *Life and Work* 44 (September 1988), p. 42; M. Fawkes, letter to the Editor, *Life and Work* 44 (November 1988), p. 42.

¹²Duncan B. Forrester, *Christianity and the Future of Welfare* (London: Epworth Press, 1985), p. 67.

Whilst the Church was attempting to reassert itself in the life of the nation, the ritual of Remembrance Sunday continued to be a feature of the Christian calendar. The ritual remained the same, with a national ceremony at Whitehall involving a religious service, a 'Two Minutes Silence', the playing of the 'Last Post' and the 'Reveille', and the laying of wreaths by service representatives and others; and similar ceremonies up and down the country centred around local war memorials with accompanying religious services in local churches. Yet as before the ritual did come to reflect the political, social and cultural developments of the time.

The Falklands War served to revive the ritual of Remembrance Sunday to some degree after its decline in the 1970s. Attendances at the ceremonies rose,¹³ the sale of poppies increased,¹⁴ and there was also a resurgence of journalistic activity at Remembrance time with Ian Wood writing moving, leading articles on the experience of war in *The Weekend Scotsman* for several years after the

¹³It was reported that 2000 people attended the ceremony at the Cenotaph in Glasgow in 1982, which was an increase in numbers compared to a few years before. See John MacKay, 'A Reminder of the Fallen,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 15 November 1982, p. 5.

¹⁴Sales of poppies increased by £1 million in 1982. See 'Increase in Sale of Poppies,' *The Times*, 6 November 1987, p. 16.

war.¹⁵ Moreover, a jingoistic tone also returned to some services. At the service at Glasgow Cathedral in 1982 the Rev. Dr. William Morris argued that the service was all about remembering men 'who were fighting for right against wrong and to restrain the power of evil men and impose discipline in the world':

If they tell you that the Falklands or Vietnam or North Korea or Poland were not worth fighting for, there are some people in all of these except the Falklands for whom it does matter that truth and freedom are dreams of the distant past and not realities of their present life.¹⁶

However, in line with the revival of the peace movement in the early 1980s, the ideals of peace did once more come to dominate the ritual of remembrance; the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland even voting in 1986 for George Macleod's addendum that no church can accede to the use of nuclear weapons to defend any cause whatever.¹⁷ This was reflected in much of the preaching at Remembrance services. At the service in St. Giles

¹⁵Ian S. Wood, 'Silent Witness to the Desolation of War,' *The Weekend Scotsman*, 13 November 1982, p. 1; Ibid., 'They also Fell: the Victims of Britain's Battlefield Justice,' *The Weekend Scotsman*, 12 November 1983, p. 1; Ibid., 'Peacetime Battles to Provide a Land Fit for Heroes,' *The Weekend Scotsman*, 10 November 1984, p. 1; Ibid., 'War and peace in Dottyville,' *The Weekend Scotsman*, 8 November 1986, p. 1; Ibid., 'A most Private Sacrifice,' *The Weekend Scotsman*, 7 November 1987, p. 1.

¹⁶Mackay, p. 5.

¹⁷Ferguson, pp. 409-410; The Church of Scotland, 'Report of the Committee on the Church and Nation,' in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland with Legislative Acts Passed by the General Assembly, 1987* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1987), p. 130.

Cathedral in 1982, the Rev. Gilleasbuig MacMillan, Minister of St Giles', noted that national remembrance was liable to make people feel obliged to accept the inevitability of wars. Yet, he argued, it was not disrespectful to take the opposite line and work for peace.¹⁸ At the service in St. Giles' Cathedral in 1985 the Rt Rev. Dr David Smith, the Moderator of the General Assembly, built on these views: 'We have failed to see that war is a destructive activity energised by hatred but the opposite is peace - a constructive, positive, productive activity which is energised by love.'¹⁹ At a service at Rosyth naval base in 1988, the Rt Rev. Prof. James Whyte, the new Moderator, condemned the glorifying of war and the proliferation of war toys and battle reenactments.²⁰ Alongside this, in 1983 a group of servicemen and women marched past the Cenotaph in Whitehall wearing Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament badges and a wreath was laid on behalf of CND;²¹ in 1985 the Students' Representative Council of Glasgow University banned the sale of red poppies in its shop because they

¹⁸MacKay, p. 5.

¹⁹Alan Hutchison, 'Battle for Minds is Threat to World Peace, Moderator says,' *The Scotsman*, 11 November 1985, p. 6.

²⁰Bryan Christie, 'Moderator Condemns Attitudes to Warfare,' *The Scotsman*, 14 November 1988, p. 2.

²¹'Royal Couple World Apart to Honour the War Dead,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 13 November 1989, p. 3.

were not considered to be a symbol of peace;²² and in 1989 for the first time a wreath of white poppies was laid at the war memorial in George Square, Glasgow.²³ It was perhaps not surprising that the breaching of the Berlin wall just a few days before Remembrance Sunday in 1989, and the prospect that held out for the cause of world peace, gave the ceremonies that year a special significance.²⁴

Whilst the remembrance ritual became a focus for peace, it also became again a means of questioning social values through a re-evaluation of standards of personal conduct in daily life. At the remembrance service in St. Giles' Cathedral in 1985, David Smith argued that material values had taken such a grip, and spiritual matters so forgotten, that this threatened our security. 'We have reached the low point in our self-assessment,' he warned, 'of thinking that if we are physically comfortable and secure then we are safe and the future is not in jeopardy.'²⁵ This was picked up at the service at Rosyth in 1988 by James Whyte when he asked what had happened to

²²Kenneth W. H. Ritchie, letter to the Editor, *The Glasgow Herald*, 12 November 1985, p. 10.

²³'Royal Couple World Apart to Honour the War Dead,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 13 November 1989, p. 3.

²⁴'Reminders of War,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 13 November 1989, p. 1; 'Clashes and Bomb Blast Mar Remembrance Day,' *The Scotsman*, 13 November 1989, p. 5.

²⁵Iain Wilson and Christopher Reekie, 'Moderator's Plea for Peace,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 11 November 1985, p. 3.

the vision of a more human society for which many had fought in the past. 'Perhaps,' he concluded, 'it got buried under our materialism and greed.'²⁶

What was more, remembrance once more became a political football. In 1986, for example, most members of the Labour administration of Edinburgh District Council were absent from the ceremony at the Stone of Remembrance and, in a swipe at his political opponents, one Liberal councillor claimed that there was a reluctance on the part of 'modern' Labour councillors to attend such formal occasions.²⁷ More importantly, the remembrance ritual became dragged into the troubles in Northern Ireland. In 1987 an IRA bomb exploded without warning during the ceremony at the war memorial in Enniskillen, Northern Ireland, killing eleven people and injuring fifty-five. No doubt aimed at the remembrance ritual as a symbol of loyalist links with mainland Britain, this terrorist outrage shocked the nation. 'This sunday, marked by old men's memories and Flanders poppies, signifies the terrible waste of a generation,' noted one correspondent to the *Glasgow Herald*. 'This year it also signifies the cruelty of a sub-human species who kill at random for political gain.'²⁸

²⁶Christie, p. 2.

²⁷'Politics Surface at Poppy Service,' *The Scotsman*, 10 November 1986, p. 10.

²⁸Ann L. Ballinger, letter to the Editor, *The Glasgow Herald*, 11 November 1987, p. 10.

During the 1980s Remembrance Sunday continued to fulfil an important pastoral role. Although the Church did, in some respects, become less marginal to the life of the nation, remembrance rituals continued to act as the foci for commemoration and the reintegration of the veterans of wars back into society. As in the post-1945 era, the language of jingoism did not disappear, but increasingly the ideals of peace and, to some extent, the concerns of christian morality came to dominate the ritual; the tragedy of Enniskillen adding a bitter political twist.

After a brief revival, however, Remembrance Sunday was once more confronted with growing apathy as more and more of those with memories of the world wars passed away, the televising of the Cenotaph ceremony in Whitehall continued, and the hedonistic 1980s took root. In 1982 it was said that there were some 2,000 people at the ceremony in George Square in Glasgow; by 1989 it was reported that just a few hundred turned up.²⁹ Again, for the bereaved this held little comfort. During the course of the twentieth century it had been said that the fallen had died for their country and for the cause of peace. Yet as the century drew to a close many Scots were increasingly disillusioned with the country they lived in and had repeatedly seen their hopes for peace dashed.

²⁹MacKay, p. 5; 'Royal Couple World Apart to Honour the War Dead,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 13 November 1989, p. 3.

What was more, fewer and fewer people seemed to care why the fallen had died at all.

(B) The life of the nation and the Church during the Gulf War.

From August 1990 to February 1991 British political life was dominated to a significant extent by a conflict between the United Nations and Iraq over the latter's invasion of Kuwait – a conflict which culminated in a short but violent war. Like the Falklands War, this was a limited war in terms of war aims, the length of the conflict and the extent of mobilisation of national resources. Nevertheless, it was not without its human price, with tens of thousands estimated to have died.³⁰

Although Iraq had longstanding disputes with Kuwait, the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait City on 2 August 1990 came as a surprise to the international community. Fearing a further attack on Saudi Arabia, the United Nations dispatched a UN military force to the Gulf Region, which included a significant number of British military personnel, and called on Saddam Hussein to withdraw peacefully from Kuwait. This call went unheeded and on 16/17 January 1991 UN forces went to war with Iraq in order to liberate Kuwait.

³⁰Lawrence Freedman and Efraim Karsh, *The Gulf Conflict 1990–1991. Diplomacy and War in the New World Order* (London: Faber and Faber, 1993), pp. 408–409; Mohamed Heikal, *Illusions of Triumph* (London: Harper Collins, 1993), pp. 405–406.

The British government supported this action. In a statement to the House of Commons, John Major noted that 'it is only with the greatest reluctance that we have come to the point of using force as authorised by the Security Council. We did so only after all peaceful means had failed and Saddam Hussein's intransigence left us no other course.'³¹ Although there were some Scottish Labour MPs who opposed the war, such as George Galloway, there was a good deal of cross-party agreement. The Labour leader, Neil Kinnock, described the British forces as engaged in fighting for 'lawful purposes': 'It is our duty to give them our backing and that we do.'³²

As for the reaction of the wider nation, the resort to military force in the Gulf did engender a good deal of debate. Certainly, a number of Scots, like a number of people in the rest of the United Kingdom, adopted a jingoistic line. This was partly reflected in the regular opinion polls which were conducted in the period leading up to, as well as during, the war. These showed broad support for military action in the Gulf,³³ and one 'System Three' survey in *The Glasgow Herald* indicated

³¹John Major; quoted in *Britain and the Gulf Crisis* by HMSO (London: HMSO, 1993), p. 76.

³²Neil Kinnock; quoted in *Britain and the Gulf Crisis* by HMSO (London: HMSO, 1993), p. 76.

³³Robert J. Wybrow, 'The Gulf Crisis: A British Perspective,' in *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 3 (1991), pp. 260-276.

that 77% of Scots supported the war.³⁴

It was also reflected in some of the media reporting of war. Whilst the Gulf War was much more of a television war than those previously fought, the government imposed tight censorship especially over such matters as deaths and injuries.³⁵ Moreover, a subtle new media language was brought into play which served to sanitise the conflict. As Philip Knightley explains:

Bombing military targets in the heart of cities was called 'denying the enemy an infrastructure'. People were 'soft targets'. Saturation bombing was 'laying down a carpet'. The idea was to suggest that hardly any people were involved in modern warfare, only machines. This explains the emphasis at Alliance press briefings on the damage 'our' machines have caused to 'their' machines, and the reluctance of briefing officers to discuss casualties - on either side.³⁶

Thus, whilst some disturbing pictures were broadcast of casualties of the coalition bombing raid on the Baghdad shelter and of the Basra road, the Glasgow University Media Group concluded that media coverage of the war contained little dissent.³⁷ Indeed, Stephen Badsey has argued that 'the military and the media between them told

³⁴'Scottish Survey of Gulf War', *The Glasgow Herald*, 5 February 1991, p. 1.

³⁵John Eldridge, 'News, Truth and Power,' in *Getting the Message*, ed., John Eldridge (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 13.

³⁶Philip Knightley; quoted in Eldridge, p. 14

³⁷Ibid., p. 10.

their people nothing until the war was over, and then told them who won.'³⁸

Whilst the reporting of the war was restricted, some of the popular press, in particular, did its best to mobilise the jingoistic instincts of the nation. On the day hostilities broke out *The Daily Star* had as its front page headline 'GO GET HIM BOYS', and *The Sun* printed a union jack across its front page and invited its readers to cut it out and display it in their windows.³⁹ The belligerency of some members of the public was reflected in a number of letters to the press in response to criticism of the war. 'The lesson of the 1930s has obviously not been learnt by some of your correspondents,' wrote one contributor to *The Scotsman*. 'Hitler got away with it and we all know the result. Surely we are not going to go through all that again!'⁴⁰ 'Fire-power and courage gave us peace,' blasted another, 'not prayers.'⁴¹

Alongside the chauvinism, there was also a hint of Britain's 'glorious' past when it was learnt that the 7th Armoured Brigade, the famous 'desert rats' of the Second

³⁸Stephen Badsey, 'The Media War,' in *The Gulf War Assessed*, eds., John Pimlott and Stephen Badsey (London: Arms and Armour, 1992), pp. 229-230; 243.

³⁹Greg Philo and Greg McLaughlin, *The British Media and the Gulf War* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Media Group, 1993), pp. 1, 4.

⁴⁰W. F. Elfin, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 29 January 1991, p. 10.

⁴¹Neil I. C. Powrie, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 11 January 1991, p. 10.

World War, were once more to fight in the desert. More especially, there was a good deal of pride in Scottish units that took part in the war, such as the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards and the Royal Scots, and there were many pictures of armoured vehicles driving around the desert bedecked in saltires and groups of soldiers waving the lion rampant. It was, wrote one observer, like 'a Runrig concert or at Hampden.'⁴²

Nevertheless, whilst a number of Scots took a jingoistic line, many in Scotland and in the rest of the United Kingdom were less enthusiastic about the war, thinking it was being fought for reasons of oil rather than international law, and that all other options short of war had not been fully explored before the fighting began. It was interesting that there was no appreciable 'Gulf factor' at work in the 1991 general election in England or Scotland, as there had been a 'Falklands factor' in England in 1983,⁴³ and on the whole the Scots once more seemed to be less devoted to the war than their counterparts in the south. 'It is notable,' wrote Lindsay Paterson in February 1991, 'that Scotland has not produced the militaristic fervour which seems to be sweeping the south of England.'⁴⁴ Indeed, Gordon Wilson,

⁴²Lindsay Paterson, 'Another Manifestation of the Scottish Personality,' *Scotland on Sunday*, 17 February 1991, p. 9.

⁴³Wybrow, pp. 274-276.

⁴⁴Paterson, p. 9.

a former Scottish National party leader, accused the government of deliberately using Scottish troops as cannon fodder.⁴⁵

The response of the Church of Scotland to the developing crisis in the Gulf was to do all that it could to prevent the outbreak of hostilities. 'If war breaks out in the Gulf,' argued the Rt. Rev. Professor Robert Davidson, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, on Remembrance Sunday in November 1990, 'then we shall step into a new Dark Age, the horror of which most of us have not even begun to grasp.'⁴⁶ One way it tried to influence events was to organise peace services. On 25 November hundreds of people prayed for a peaceful resolution to the crisis at an ecumenical service in Glasgow. Representatives of the Moslem and Jewish communities attended the service, which was led by church leaders from the Church of Scotland, the Roman Catholic Church, the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Congregational Union, the Methodist Union and the Baptist Union of Scotland.⁴⁷ Similar services were held throughout Scotland, particularly as the crisis escalated, and on 13 January 1991 Action for Churches Together in Scotland

⁴⁵'Editorial,' *The Sunday Times Scotland*, 3 March 1991, p. 9.

⁴⁶'Moderator Warns of "Dark Age" if War Erupts,' *Inverness Courier*, 13 November 1990, p. 4.

⁴⁷Elizabeth Buie, 'Winning leads Prayers for Peace,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 26 November 1990, p. 13.

organised a 'Day of Prayer for peace in the Gulf.'⁴⁸

Another way in which the Church sought to preserve peace was by putting pressure on political leaders. This took the form of cooperating with the other Scottish churches in sending a letter to the Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, expressing their opposition to military action, and representatives from the Church also formed part of a delegation to the Foreign Office to press home their views.⁴⁹ Alongside this, Church leaders, together with academics and representatives of the medical and legal professions, produced a joint statement calling for negotiations and sanctions to be extended in order to find a peaceful solution to the crisis, and copies of this statement were circulated throughout Scotland for the public to sign and send to their MPs.⁵⁰ Church leaders also participated in a 6,000 strong peace rally in Glasgow just days before hostilities broke out.⁵¹

Much of the Church's opposition to a war in the Gulf rested on the basis that any war would not be a 'just

⁴⁸The Church of Scotland Head Office, Press Office, 'Day of Prayer for Peace in the Gulf,' Press Release, PR/2/1/91, 3 January 1991.

⁴⁹The Church of Scotland Head Office, Press Office, 'Churches' Concern over Gulf,' Press Release, PR/178/11/90/, 8 November 1990;

⁵⁰'War Could bring more Problems than Answers,' *The Courier and Advertiser*, 4 January 1991, p. 13.

⁵¹'Marchers Urge Iraq to Pull Out,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 14 January 1991, p. 3.

war', in particular because of the incalculable consequences if nuclear and chemical weapons were used during the conflict. In a letter to *The Scotsman*, for example, staff and student members of the University of Edinburgh Divinity Faculty argued that the consequences of a war in the Gulf would be grossly out of proportion with the injustice of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and would cause excessive death and misery. War in the Gulf, therefore, could not be justified.⁵² The Moderator, Robert Davidson, endorsed this argument in a statement to the press on 6 January 1991: 'any traditional doctrine of the "just war" is not applicable to the current crisis, since the negative consequences of such a war far outweigh any positive results.'⁵³

There were, however, some church members who took a different line on the conflict. The Rev. Dr David Whiteford, a former army chaplain, attacked the Church leaders' anti-war campaign, argued that the predictions of the casualties resulting from the war were exaggerated, and accused the Church of abandoning the troops in the front line by denying them support: 'If I were a soldier in the Gulf, having to put up with the conditions and uncertainty of hostilities, I would not be best pleased to hear some of the things our clerics at

⁵²David MacLeod and 68 Others, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 6 December 1990, p. 10.

⁵³'Patient Diplomacy Must be Given a Chance to Work,' *Scotland on Sunday*, 6 January 1991, p. 7.

home have been saying.'⁵⁴

This disillusionment with the attitude of the Church was shared by others. One editorial in *The Sunday Times Scotland*, criticised Scottish churchmen for 'collective breast-beating' in their attempts 'to rule out the use of force without suggesting an alternative means of responding to international hoodlums.'⁵⁵ In a scathing letter to *The Scotsman*, a Conservative Councillor from Dundee referred to the church leaders as 'pontificating pacifist parsons at prayer'. 'Pray by all means ministers,' he suggested, ' - for victory!'⁵⁶

When war broke out on 16/17 January the Church leaders in Scotland issued a joint statement calling for an early end to the conflict and expressing regret and condemnation that force should have been used.⁵⁷ At the same time, however, now that the die had been cast, they offered their support for those on all sides who were

⁵⁴Ian Swanson, 'Peace Moves Under Fire,' *Edinburgh Evening News*, 4 January 1991, p. 3; see also 'Editorial,' *Life and Work* 46 (December 1990), p. 5; Bill Caven, 'Church Leaders "are Failing to Face up to the Realities of War",' *The Glasgow Herald*, 21 January 1991, p. 5.

⁵⁵'Editorial,' *The Sunday Times Scotland*, 2 December 1990, p. 7.

⁵⁶(Cllr) Neil I. C. Powrie, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 11 January 1991, p. 10.

⁵⁷The Church of Scotland Head Office, Press Office, 'War in the Gulf,' Press Release, PR/13/1/91, 17 January 1991.

caught up in the fighting.⁵⁸ The Church of Scotland's Board of National Mission sent a letter to all ministers of the Kirk calling them to give their support to people with relatives in the Gulf. 'Whatever view individuals may have about the political situation,' wrote the Rev. Douglas Nicol, 'this is an opportunity for the Christian Church to show the love of Jesus Christ to families who are worried.'⁵⁹

The Church also sought to promote a spirit of reconciliation during the war. The Church, for instance, contributed to the publication of *GulfWatch*, a daily bulletin of news which was sent around the world and even featured items from a correspondent inside Iraq.⁶⁰ It further participated in the Seventh Assembly of the World Council of Churches which called for an immediate ceasefire, as well as expressing a refusal 'to be separated from brothers and sisters of other faiths as a result of the war, and to reject especially any effort to divide Christians, Muslims and Jews.'⁶¹

In its response to the Gulf War, the Church of Scotland

⁵⁸Gary Duncan, 'Calls for an Early End to Conflict,' *The Scotsman*, 18 January 1991, p. 4.

⁵⁹"'Support Gulf Families" Call by the Kirk,' *Alloa Advertiser*, 30 January 1991, p. 11.

⁶⁰Alastair Hulbert and Alastair McIntosh, 'The GulfWatch Papers,' *Edinburgh Review*, 1991/3, p. 1.

⁶¹Scottish Churches Action for World Development, 'World Council of Churches, Canberra Statement,' *GulfWatch*, 20 February 1991, p. 1.

did not always speak with one voice. Yet, in contrast to its behaviour during the Falklands War, it could be argued that the Church did fulfil its prophetic role by collectively challenging the government's actions and offering a clear alternative voice to some of the more jingoistic sentiments expressed.

(C) The aftermath of the Gulf War and its impact on the community and on the individual.

On 28 February President Bush announced that the Coalition would suspend its offensive pending a formal ceasefire and the Gulf war came to an end. Although the coalition casualties had not been as great as had been feared, nevertheless, 240 coalition military personnel died in the conflict as well as an estimated 30,000-60,000 Iraqis. Twelve of the forty-three British war dead hailed from Scotland.⁶²

The end of the war was greeted in some circles with a degree of jingoism. An editorial in *The Sunday Times Scotland*, entitled 'Pulpit Pacifism Turned Sour', criticised the church leaders for not celebrating the fact that British troops were 'triumphant in battle' and suggested that congregations throughout Scotland should

⁶²Freedman and Karsh, p. 408; I am grateful to Col. I. Shepherd of the Scottish National War Memorial for providing me with the details of the Scottish dead.

be 'dished up humble pie'.⁶³ Yet there were those who adopted a less chauvinistic attitude. In a survey carried out by Mass Observation collating individual responses to the Gulf War, a woman from Kilmarnock described feelings not only of relief, but also of deep sorrow:

It's over thank God. People are not really talking about it - no euphoria or jubilation. There's clear disquiet about the thousands of Iraqis killed, young conscripts. No-one has given an estimated toll - it's as if it doesn't matter, their lives are expendable, we just have to expect that in war. This war has trivialised human life - humans have been wiped out without thought. Was it worth it? Was it the only way?⁶⁴

Another respondent from Dunbarton struck a note of bitterness:

It is simply not good enough to hear all the self-congratulation about the small number of Allied casualties (mostly the result of accident or incompetence). What about the 100,000 estimated Iraqi dead: the complete destruction of Iraq and Kuwait: the rape of the United Nations, and the US contempt for the efforts of the Russians to arrange a peace settlement?

Still, at least British and American construction conglomerates will make a fortune rebuilding Iraq and Kuwait: and the arms trade will laugh all the way to the bank. How sick.⁶⁵

The father of one Scottish soldier killed in the Gulf would not accept the thanks of the nation: 'We don't have

⁶³'Pulpit Pacifism Turned Sour,' *The Sunday Times Scotland*, 3 March 1991, p. 9.

⁶⁴University of Sussex, Tom Harrison Mass-Observation Archive, 'The Gulf Crisis/War,' Autumn/Winter Directive 1990, respondent G 1607.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, respondent H. 1541.

anything to be thankful for.'⁶⁶

As for the servicemen involved in the war, their experiences also differed. Lt.-Gen. Sir Peter de la Billiere, the Commander of British forces in the Gulf, was in no doubt that the sacrifices were justified. 'I have a message for the people back home,' he announced on television. 'Ring your church bells'.⁶⁷ But there were others who were less convinced. As Private Martin Ferguson of the Queen's Own Highlanders wrote from the Gulf: 'Questions will be asked - that's a must, all about this land of dust. The answers you know but cannot say, because of the horrors which haunt you every day.' Private Ferguson was later killed by American fire, aged twenty-one.⁶⁸ For those that survived there was also the risk of 'Gulf War Syndrome' by which veterans suffered debilitating illnesses brought on, it was thought, by the drugs taken during the conflict to counteract the likely effects of chemical warfare.

The experience of those who fought in the Gulf and those who remained at home obviously differed. Once more those who fought had been exclusively volunteer professionals

⁶⁶Elizabeth Buie, 'Congregation Welcomes Sombre Note of Gulf Service,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 6 May 1991, p. 3.

⁶⁷Lt. -Gen. Sir Peter de la Billiere; quoted in 'Bullets, Bulletins and War's Terrible Toll,' *Gulfwatch* 40 (3 March 1991), p. 2.

⁶⁸Janet Watts, 'Doubts that Linger Beyond the Slaughter,' *GulfWatch* 40 (12 March 1991), p. 1.

but this did not make the necessity of reintegrating them back into society any less important, or problematic, bearing in mind the tensions that existed in society over the efficacy of the conflict. The one point of reference to begin such a process was the sense of loss felt by many civilians and servicemen alike. This loss might have been mercifully small for Britain but for those directly involved this was no consolation; and for many Iraqi families the so-called clean war of 'surgical strikes' was an equal tragedy. What was more, the fighting may have stopped in Kuwait, but Saddam Hussein now turned his murderous attention on the rebellious Kurds in the north of his country.

(D) The response of the Church and the nation in the aftermath of the Gulf War.

Almost the first reaction of the government after the ceasefire was the announcement of a victory parade to be held in London, organised by the Ministry of Defence, to mark the return of the British forces.. The first concern of the government was, therefore, a jingoistic display rather than concern for the dead. Indeed, the Bishop of Durham, Dr. David Jenkins, publicly condemned the idea of a parade as 'obscene'.⁶⁹

⁶⁹Joanne Robertson, 'Attack on Bishops as Parade Plan is Approved,' *The Scotsman*, 5 March 1991, p. 9.

The Church of Scotland's first concern, however, was for the bereaved. In St Stephen's Church, Glasgow, for instance, an interdenominational service was held by families of the Gulf Crisis Self Help Group to give thanks for the safe return of the British forces and to remember the dead from both sides of the conflict.⁷⁰

In the meantime, the government did turn its attention to planning a special religious service to mark the ending of the war. Following the national service of thanksgiving and remembrance after the Falklands War, the government consulted the Very Rev. Dr. William Morris, the Minister of Glasgow Cathedral, about the possibility of holding a national service in the Cathedral. Morris agreed and drew up the service. This was to be an ecumenical service of remembrance and thanksgiving for the whole United Kingdom (including Scotland) to be held on 4 May 1991.⁷¹

2. The Ritual Act.

Much speculation has been made about the government's decision to hold the national service in Scotland. It is reported that John Major had requested that the service be held there as a significant number of Scottish

⁷⁰Graeme Stewart, 'Families' Joy and Sadness at Service,' *The Scotsman*, 4 March 1991, p. 6.

⁷¹The Very Rev. Dr William Morris, taped interview with author, 27 November 1995.

regiments had served in the Gulf.⁷² But many regarded it as a political move in order to gain favour north of the border where Conservative fortunes had been in long-term decline. It could also be contended that it was a snub for Lambeth Palace after organising what some in the Conservative party regarded as an unsatisfactory service after the Falklands War.⁷³

Whatever the motivation, there was a good deal of controversy about the way in which the government initially set about organising the service in Glasgow. The usual procedure for services of this type was for the government to make arrangements with the Church of Scotland's Principal Clerk's Office, but there was no consultation with either the Moderator, the Rt. Rev. Professor Robert Davidson, or his leading officials.⁷⁴ Instead, William Morris (who was about to become the Dean of the Chapel Royal in Scotland) was approached directly, no doubt partly because the government could exert more control over a service planned by just one minister, rather than a committee of Church representatives, but also because Morris had broadly shared the government's views over the war and had made no anti-war speeches.⁷⁵

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³'Home News,' *The Tablet* (30 March/ 6 April 1991), p. 3.

⁷⁴The Very Rev. Professor Robert Davidson, taped interview with author, 27 November 1995.

⁷⁵'Home News,' *The Tablet* (30 March/ 6 April 1991), p. 3.

This breach of etiquette, however, antagonised Davidson. 'We knew nothing about it until it broke,' he recalls, 'and it was all done through the Chaplain Royal in Glasgow, whom I must confess should have known better.'⁷⁶ Moreover, the Principal Clerk, the Rev. James Weatherhead, saw it as an attack on Church government. 'I do not think that the Church is any danger of direct attacks on its constitutional position,' he observed, 'but that position could be gently eroded by well meaning misunderstanding. Death by a thousand cuts is one thing, but erosion by a thousand smiles is what I fear!'⁷⁷

There were also some who felt that the service should not be held in Scotland at all. In a letter to the Editor of *The Scotsman*, the Rev. John Harvey, leader of the Iona Community, wrote that:

It is disappointing to see Scottish church representatives falling in so swiftly with the plans to hold a national thanksgiving service for the end of the Gulf war...

Perhaps it would have been better if the church representatives had said to the state: "No, we will not share your service of thanksgiving, but will you come and join us in a service of repentance, and commitment to the struggle for a truly new world order, based on the teachings of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount?"⁷⁸

⁷⁶The Very Rev. Professor Robert Davidson, taped interview with the author, 27 November 1995.

⁷⁷University of Edinburgh, New College Library, 'Gulf War' folder, letter to G. A. Hart from James Weatherhead, 26 March 1991.

⁷⁸John Harvey, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 28 March 1991, p. 10.

In another letter published in *The Scotsman*, Alan Clayton wrote in similar terms:

The greatest service Scottish church people can do is to stay away from the event in Glasgow cathedral. There must be an event either religious or secular or both to coincide with the "service of thanksgiving", and I call on the churches and the peace movement to initiate action to this end now.⁷⁹

The Rt. Rev. Richard Holloway, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Edinburgh, was also vocal on this topic:

There is a feeling in Scotland that the service is inappropriate because the war isn't over and we are increasingly revolted at what we see on our TV screens about the Kurds.

It would be tactful all round if the service were cancelled and we waited until the war was actually over, until the suffering stopped, and then put together something that united us all, instead of just creating this irritation and upset.⁸⁰

Various Scottish MPs also entered the fray. Alex Salmond, leader of the Scottish National Party, protested that the Scottish Churches Council should have been left to decide both the content and the timing of the national service.⁸¹ Moreover, in an open letter to the Prime Minister, Dr Norman Godman, Labour MP for Greenock and Port Glasgow, was unequivocal in his view: 'I think it

⁷⁹Alan Clayton, letter to the Editor, *The Scotsman*, 26 March 1991, p. 10.

⁸⁰'Unholy Row Over Gulf Service Speaker,' *Press and Journal*, 8 April 1991, p. 9.

⁸¹Michelle Rodger, 'Kirk "Angry" over Snub for Scottish Preachers,' *Daily Express*, 8 April 1991, p. 4.

will be seen as an event bordering on the triumphal, no matter how diffident those attending the service are, and it is my firm conviction that the event should be postponed or cancelled.'⁸²

However, although an alternative service to the official Gulf service was discussed by the Gulf Reconciliation Group, which had been formed by Scottish churchmen, Moslem leaders and other public representatives, and vigils and small alternative services did take place on the same day,⁸³ Scottish church leaders did move fairly quickly to end any speculation that they would not take part, and the Moderator issued a statement indicating his pleasure at being invited.⁸⁴ James Weatherhead did, though, write to the Scottish Office to explain that as the government had bypassed the Moderator in the planning of the service, according to the Declaratory Articles of the Church it could not therefore be regarded as a 'national' service in the ecclesiastical sense in Scotland, but rather as a 'state' service, arranged at the invitation of the state by one of the parish

⁸²Keith Sinclair, 'Major Asked to Cancel Service,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 8 April 1991, p. 3.

⁸³The Very Rev. Professor Robert Davidson, taped interview with author, 27 November 1995.

⁸⁴Graeme Stewart, 'Anti-war Churchmen to Take Part in the Gulf Service,' *The Scotsman*, 6 April 1991, p. 5.

ministers.⁸⁵

This, however, was not the end of the controversy in the planning of the service. Unlike the Falklands service, the planning of the Gulf service was done by one man, William Morris, in consultation with the Ministry of Defence, and he was able to shape it according to his own preferences, although he was sent a copy of the order of service from 1982 to consult which he used as a basic structure. John Major, unlike his predecessor, did not want a mood of triumphalism at the service and he specifically requested that the emphasis of the service should be on remembrance first and thanksgiving second.⁸⁶ This was reflected in the title of the service, 'The Gulf Service of Remembrance and Thanksgiving', and also in the broad structure of the service which was divided into four sections: 'remembrance'; 'thanksgiving'; 'children of one Father'; and 'reconciliation and peace'.⁸⁷

Dr Morris did, however, make some decisions that aroused criticism from within the Church. Firstly, it might have been thought that as the national service was being held in Scotland the Moderator, Robert Davidson, or the

⁸⁵University of Edinburgh, New College Library, 'Gulf War' Folder, letter to G. A. Hart from James WeatherHead, 26 March 1991.

⁸⁶The Very Rev. Dr William Morris, taped interview with author, 27 November 1995.

⁸⁷The Private Papers of the Very Rev. Dr William Morris, 'St Mungo's Cathedral, Glasgow. The Gulf Service of Remembrance and Thanksgiving. Saturday, 4th May 1991. 12 Noon.' [hereafter Appendix 4], pp. 270-282.

Archbishop of Glasgow, the Most. Rev. Thomas Winning, would have given the sermon. The decision, though, was taken to invite the Archbishop of York, Dr. John Habgood, a leading Anglican, to do this. Morris argues that the occasion provided an opportunity for an ecumenical gesture. 'It seemed to me important that at a UK service the other national church should be represented,' he noted, 'and if they haven't invited any of our clergy to preach in Westminster Abbey or St Paul's at least we would invite one of them to preach in Glasgow Cathedral.'⁸⁸ Nevertheless, it was also the case that Davidson and Winning had both expressed doubts about the war whereas Habgood, like Morris, had supported it. 'It was clear that Habgood felt that the Gulf War had to happen,' recalls Morris. 'He wasn't likely to turn it into a political platform.'⁸⁹

The decision to invite Dr Habgood was regarded by some as an insult to the country's leading churchmen and the Moderator was forced to issue a statement in order to calm the situation:

The Moderator holds John Habgood personally in the highest esteem, and welcomes the fact that one who has been so active in ecumenical matters and is now one of the Presidents of the Council of Churches for Britain and Ireland has been

⁸⁸The Very Rev. Dr William Morris, taped interview with author, 27 November 1995.

⁸⁹Ibid.

invited to preach at a United Kingdom Service.⁹⁰

Nevertheless, Richard Holloway argued that the decision showed a lack of touch with Scottish opinion. 'They've created maximum outrage in Scotland over the way its been handled,' he noted. 'Its a very cack-handed piece of work indeed'.⁹¹

Morris also provoked criticism by the fact that he decided to write the prayers that would be said by the various church leaders during the service. Not only did this seem to go against the spirit of these ecumenical services, whereby participants from the different denominations usually wrote their own prayers, but some of the participants did not like what they had to say. This was especially true of Thomas Winning who refused to read the line 'Turn our enemies to the truth as you have revealed it in Jesus Christ', which he interpreted as implying that Iraq should turn to Christianity. Morris responded that he could not say 'read this or else', but that he could not understand Winning's objections to it:

I've never been faced with such a situation myself, never having been invited to take part in a Roman Catholic service, but it seemed to me that there was nothing in the prayers which conflicted with Christian, or Roman Catholic, doctrine for that matter. I didn't think that Roman Catholics would have been opposed to the

⁹⁰The Church of Scotland Head Office, Press Office, 'Gulf Service - Glasgow Cathedral', Press Release, PR/65/4/91, 5 April 1991.

⁹¹Joan McAlpine, 'Bishop Condemns Gulf Service,' *The Scotsman*, 8 April 1991, p. 5.

conversion of Islam to Christianity but maybe there are those who are happier to modify that stance.⁹²

Thomas Winning was able to modify his prayer, and also added a more compassionate reference to the peoples of the Middle East, although the corrections did not reach the printer in time to be included in the final order of service.⁹³ Some minor changes were also made by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Moderator was able to inject a note of repentance into his Act of Dedication although this did not appear in the order of service either.⁹⁴ However, as the *The Glasgow Herald* observed:

It is outrageous that churchman should be expected to perform like automatons on such an occasion...

It must seem that the Archbishop was not trusted to deliver his own prayer, lest it contain matter critical of the war or of the way in which its enormous human cost was visited on the Iraqis.⁹⁵

Robert Davidson concludes: 'I was quite happy at the end of the day with the service because there was no sense in which there was any danger in which it would become triumphalist.' However, he continues, 'it might have, if

⁹²Stewart Lamont, 'Winning in the Gulf Service War of Words,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 4 May 1991, p. 1.

⁹³Appendix 4, p. 283.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵'Editorial,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 4 May 1991, p. 6.

we hadn't modified it to some extent.'⁹⁶ Having considered something of the context in which the service was planned, it is important to turn our attention to the service itself and give a description of the ritual act.

On 4 May 1991 the 'Gulf Service of Remembrance and Thanksgiving' took place in Glasgow Cathedral in the presence of leading political and civic figures, service representatives, including some of those who had been wounded and captured by the Iraqis, representatives from several of the UN coalition countries, families of the bereaved and members of the Royal Family.⁹⁷ After a forty minute delay in starting the service because the Royal train had broken down, the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh arrived at the Cathedral where about 500 people had gathered outside to meet the Queen and to hear the service relayed through loudspeakers.⁹⁸ After passing a small military guard of honour outside the Cathedral, the Queen and Prince Philip were received on the steps by the Lord Provost of Glasgow, Susan Baird, who presented William Morris to the Royal Party.⁹⁹ In the Nave at the West Door, the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for

⁹⁶The Very. Rev. Professor Robert Davidson, taped interview with the author, 27 November 1995.

⁹⁷'The Gulf Service of Remembrance and Thanksgiving,' BBC Scotland Broadcast, 4 May 1991.

⁹⁸William Paul, 'Nation Mourns the Innocents,' *Scotland on Sunday*, 5 May 1991, p. 2.

⁹⁹'The Gulf Service of Remembrance and Thanksgiving,' BBC Scotland Broadcast, 4 May 1991.

Scotland, the Secretary of State for Defence, the Chief of the Defence Staff, Marshall of the Royal Air Force Sir David Craig, Air Chief Marshall Sir Patrick Hine and General Sir Peter de la Billiere were presented to the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh, before moving down the aisle to their seats in the Quire. The procession of the clergy then moved to their places in the Chancel and Dr Morris conducted Her Majesty and His Royal Highness to their seats in the Quire. The music played immediately before the service began was Beethoven's 'Creation Hymn', Bach's 'Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring' and Schubert's 'Rosamunde', whilst the Choir sang Mendelssohn's 'Above all praise and Majesty, Lord, Thou reignest evermore.'¹⁰⁰

The service began with the congregation singing the National Anthem. This was followed by the opening prayer led by William Morris and concluded with the congregation saying the Lord's Prayer together. The first section, entitled 'Remembrance', followed this prayer and opened with a lesson from the epistle to the Romans 8: 35-39, read by the Rev. Dafydd Owen, Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council for Wales. The lesson was followed by the singing of Psalm 121, 'I to the hills will lift mine eyes.' After the hymn, the congregation remained standing for the Dean of the Chapel Royal in Scotland, the Very Rev. Professor Robin Barbour, to

¹⁰⁰Appendix 4, pp. 272-273.

conduct the Act of Remembrance. This began with the words, 'Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn. At the going down of the sun and in the morning, We will remember them.' The 'Last Post' was then played by a buglar from the Royal Marines. This was followed by a traditional Scottish lament, 'The Flowers of the Forest', played by a piper from the Queen's Own Highlanders (which had lost three soldiers in the Gulf), during which time a commemorative wreath was brought forward by representatives of the three Services and handed to the Dean, who in turn laid it against the Communion Table. As the pipes died away, the Royal Marine Buglars played 'Reveille' from high up above the East Window. After this act of remembrance, Barbour led the Prayer of Commemoration and the first section concluded with the hymn, 'O blest communion, fellowship divine.'¹⁰¹

The second section of the service was entitled 'Thanksgiving' and began with a lesson from Philippians 4: 5-9 read by Flt.-Lieut. John Peters (an RAF pilot who had fought in the war). This was followed by the Prayers of Thanksgiving led by the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey, and the section finished with the hymn 'Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King of creation'.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹Appendix 4, pp. 274-276; 'The Gulf Service of Remembrance and Thanksgiving,' BBC Scotland Broadcast, 4 May 1991.

¹⁰²Appendix 4, pp. 276-277.

The third section was termed 'Children of One Father'. The Chaplain General of the Army, the Rev. James Harkness, opened this part of the service with a reading from Luke 6: 20-31. After this, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, the Most. Rev. Thomas Winning, led the Prayers of Intercession. The congregation then stood to sing the hymn, 'Be thou my vision'. The sermon was then delivered by the Archbishop of York, the Most Rev. and Rt. Hon. John Habgood. Following the sermon, the Cathedral Choir sang the Anthem, set by George Dyson to words written by George Gascoigne, 'Ye that have slept the silent night'.¹⁰³

'Reconciliation and Peace' was the theme of the final section which opened with the procession of children of three faiths into the Cathedral. Jewish children entered by the central aisle, Muslim children by the south aisle, and Christian children by the north aisle. They gathered around the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, the Rt. Rev. Professor Robert Davidson, who was standing in front of the Communion Table. Robert Davidson led the Act of Dedication during which a Jewish child read verses from a Hebrew Prophet; a Christian child read the words of Jesus; and a Muslim child read words from the Qur'an. After the children had read their lessons, they joined hands in a semi-circle

¹⁰³Appendix 4, pp. 278-279.

around Davidson who then led the congregation in prayer. This prayer was followed by an Act of Dedication during which the congregation, responding to a call made by the Moderator, promised to work for peace and reconciliation in the days to come. After these responses, the congregation sang the hymn, 'Lift up your hearts!', and Davidson pronounced the Blessing.¹⁰⁴

The procession from the Cathedral was led by the Clergy who returned to the west end of the Church. William Morris then conducted the Queen and Prince Philip to the west Door where he presented them to Robert Davidson, George Carey, John Habgood, Thomas Winning, Robin Barbour, James Harkness, Dafydd Owen and John Peters. The music played for the recessional was Alford's 'Standard of St George', Purcell's 'Trumpet Tune and Air' and Matt's 'Fame and Glory'.¹⁰⁵

3. The Ritual Functions.

(A) The political function.

(i) A functionalist analysis.

Building on the work of Durkheim, Geertz and Bocock, the functionalist view sees ritual as maintaining the dominant values of society. Like the national service

¹⁰⁴Appendix 4, pp. 280-281.

¹⁰⁵Appendix 4, p. 282.

after the Falklands War, this was not such a feature of the service after the Gulf War. Primarily, the service was not surrounded by a great deal of civic ceremony. The service was attended by a number of prominent political and civic figures, a military guard of honour from the three services was placed outside Glasgow Cathedral and, in contrast to the Falklands service, the Queen did meet the Prime Minister and some of his leading political and military advisors on her arrival at the Cathedral before processing into the Cathedral. Nevertheless, there were no public royal ceremonies before or after the service, the guard of honour was not inspected and military colours were not paraded during the service.¹⁰⁶ The ritual was not therefore so identified with the existing governing elite.

In addition, the jingoistic theme of British greatness was not such a feature of the service. Firstly, whilst the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh were in attendance and, in contrast to the Falklands Service, the National Anthem was played at the beginning of the service and a thanksgiving prayer was said by the Archbishop of Canterbury for the Queen, not only was the Queen not mentioned in the sermon, but the prayer referred to her 'faithful service', rather than her 'rule', and placed

¹⁰⁶'The Gulf Service of Remembrance and Thanksgiving,' BBC Scotland Broadcast, 4 May 1991.

her firmly in the context of other allied leaders.¹⁰⁷ Thus, the service did come across as more of a religious, rather than a royal, event.

The theme of British greatness was also downplayed by the fact that there was little emphasis on thanksgiving for victory. Although the second section of the service was devoted to thanksgiving and, in contrast to the Falklands Service, the word 'victory' was mentioned in the thanksgiving prayer, there was, nevertheless, a good deal of emphasis on thanksgiving for such matters as the fortitude of the families of serving men and women, the ending of hostilities and the fact that so many had returned safely.¹⁰⁸ 'And we give thanks for the policy of restraint,' added John Habgood in his sermon, 'which, however, tragically it sometimes went wrong, embodied the wish to get the whole wretched business finished with a minimum of death and destruction.'¹⁰⁹ Joan McAlpine wrote in *The Scotsman* that 'No-one cried Rejoice on Saturday. But the absence of rejoicing made this a far more powerful national occasion than it might have been.'¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷Appendix 4, p. 277.

¹⁰⁸Appendix 4, p. 277; Private Papers of the Archbishop of York, Dr John Habgood, 'Sermon by the Archbishop of York, Dr John Habgood in St Mungo's Cathedral, Glasgow on the Occasion of the Gulf Service of Remembrance and Thanksgiving on Saturday 4th May 1991,' [hereafter Appendix 4], p. 285.

¹⁰⁹Appendix 4, p. 285.

¹¹⁰Joan McAlpine, 'Pomp and Private Grief as a Nation Remembers,' *The Scotsman*, 6 May 1991, p. 3.

The idea of British greatness was further downplayed in the service by the selection of music before the service began. Although, in contrast to the Falklands service, a trumpet fanfare was played as the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh began to process to their seats, the music played was predominantly solemn, rather than chauvinistic, and featured Beethoven's 'Creation Hymn', Bach's 'Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring' and Schubert's 'Rosamunde'.¹¹¹ Again, then, there was a better balance here between the concepts of thanksgiving and remembrance.

With the idea of British greatness not such a feature of the service, it did therefore focus on concern for the worship of God, rather than the nation state. Certainly, in contrast to the Falklands service, the prayer of thanksgiving offered thanks for the British and allied governments which might have contributed to a blurring of the distinction,¹¹² but the liturgy was again an overwhelming expression of gratitude to God. In his opening prayer William Morris announced that 'We come, Lord of all, to worship thee',¹¹³ and in the 'thanksgiving' section of the service the reading from Phillippians 4: 5-9 was a plea to rejoice in the name of

¹¹¹Appendix 4, p. 272.

¹¹²Appendix 4, p. 277.

¹¹³Appendix 4, p. 274.

God despite all circumstances.¹¹⁴ This was a particularly poignant lesson as it was read by the RAF pilot, John Peters, whose battered face and evident suffering had featured on the nation's television screens after he had been shot down by the Iraqis. George Carey also started his prayers with 'Let us offer our thanksgiving to God' and ended 'Blessing and glory, thanksgiving and honour be to our God for ever and ever.'¹¹⁵ The theme of praising God was further embodied in the hymn in this section of the service, 'Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King of creation'.¹¹⁶

In analysing the functionalist aspects of the service, the fact that the theme of remembrance was stronger than national greatness would suggest that the ritual might correspond more closely to Warner's civic ritual of American Memorial Day. In contrast to the Falklands service, in some respects it did conform more closely to his ideas. During the remembrance section of the service a wreath was laid at the foot of the Communion Table, and in the prayer of commemoration was included the line 'Let the memory of their sacrifice be always an example to us.'¹¹⁷ Interestingly, however, aspects of the service again did not conform so closely to Warner's example. The

¹¹⁴Appendix 4, p. 276.

¹¹⁵Appendix 4, p. 277.

¹¹⁶Ibid.

¹¹⁷Appendix 4, p. 276.

wreath, on this occasion, was not composed of laurel leaves as a symbol of sacrifice and an appeal to an 'ancient' warrior tradition, but of fresh summer flowers which, according to Tom Fleming, symbolised the beauty of creation which still blossoms despite the destruction of war.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, the sacrifice of the fallen was not equated with a debt of the living to the dead, but as a debt of the living with God: 'so that we make take up our cross and follow you, the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and with them rise to a new level of life with you; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit be glory and dominion forever'.¹¹⁹ Moreover, there was no mention of the idea that death in battle was a martyr's death and that the valiant dead were to be equated with the saints.

Insights into the functionalist aspect of the ritual can also be derived from Robert Bellah's work on American civil ritual. In contrast to the Falklands service, there were some jingoistic aspects of the service that could be construed as implying a certain 'negative nationalism', with which Bellah's work can be linked. In the opening prayer, William Morris announced that 'We are here to give thanks for all those who risked their lives for those values which we believe to be right',¹²⁰ and in his

¹¹⁸Tom Fleming, interview with the author, 8 February 1996.

¹¹⁹Appendix 4, p. 276.

¹²⁰Appendix 4, p. 274.

sermon John Habgood used the story of Abraham's bargain with God not to destroy Sodom and Gommorrah to illustrate his theme of innocent suffering. Yet this could also be interpreted as implying that Britain's enemy could not even muster ten 'righteous' men to save the cities.¹²¹

Nevertheless, not only was there no suggestion of 'anamnesis' in relation to Britain as God's chosen nation, but there were aspects of the service which specifically denied any ideas of 'negative nationalism'. The verse of the National Anthem sung, 'Not on this land alone', included the lines:

Lord, make the nations see
That men should brothers be,
And form one family,
the wide world o'er.¹²²

Following this, the first lines of Morris's opening prayer were '...no men are strange, no countries foreign, Beneath all uniforms, a single body breathes, Like ours...'.¹²³ Furthermore, Thomas Winning's prayer of intercession included the plea:

Almighty God, Father of all, help us and all nations, to make real your plan for the world as one family of your children. Guide with your wisdom all who govern every nation, that we may live in harmony and peace as brothers and

¹²¹Stewart Lamont, 'Muted Trumpets Herald Uncertain Fuss,' *The Glasgow Herald*, 6 May 1991, p. 3.

¹²²Appendix 4, p. 274.

¹²³Ibid.

sisters.¹²⁴

What was more, there was a clear expression of regret at the loss of life suffered by the enemy. Thomas Winning continued: 'Bless with your comfort all among us and the people of Kuwait and of Iraq and of all countries where war and oppression have left their bitter harvest of pain and illness, injury and loss, homelessness and hunger.'¹²⁵ In his sermon, John Habgood also recognised 'the losses of human life and the devastation in Iraq itself, still locked into an oppressive and evil dictatorship.'¹²⁶

Again, in contrast to the Falklands service, there was a greater emphasis on the idea of 'positive nationalism'. The idea of Britain's role in promoting international reconstruction was featured for instance. In the opening prayer, William Morris asked God to 'Help us to accept our share of responsibility for the tears of thy family of mankind in which "no men are foreign, and no countries strange"',¹²⁷ and in his prayer of intercession Thomas Winning urged that 'Today too we pray for the Kurdish people, for all the people's of the Middle East and for all men and women and children in need who look to us for

¹²⁴Appendix 4, p. 278.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶Appendix 4, p. 287.

¹²⁷Appendix 4, p. 274.

compassion and justice. May we not fail them.'¹²⁸ In his Act of Dedication Robert Davidson added that 'We promise to increase our efforts to establish justice for all, and to foster peace and reconciliation among all countries.'¹²⁹ However, not only was there no reference in the service to any sense of national unity or belonging during the war, but the service seemed to go some way towards celebrating the diversity of the British nation through the participation of Christian, Jewish and Muslim children from 'this city of different faiths'.¹³⁰

From this functionalist perspective, it can thus be argued that, perhaps to a greater extent than the national service after the Falklands War, the political function of the ritual did attempt to reinforce the existing political and social structures. However, like the Falklands service, it can be argued that, for the most part, the service did not seek to legitimise the dominant values of society in the aftermath of the Gulf War. In this sense, once more it did have more to offer those who had lost faith in God's providential's plan for humankind. Yet as ritual functions within a surplus of meanings, it is necessary to analyse to what extent the service transcended the dominant values of the nation state and presented an alternative vision of society.

¹²⁸Appendix 4, p. 283.

¹²⁹Appendix 4, p. 280.

¹³⁰Ibid.

(ii) An interactionist analysis.

In contrast to the functionalist view of ritual which is concerned with maintaining the status quo, ritual can also challenge the dominant values of society as Kertzer, Driver, Flanagan, Forrester, McDonald and Tellini have suggested. As would be expected from a service that, whilst not ignoring it, did not emphasise British greatness, the Gulf Service, like the Falklands service, did present a radical challenge to the dominant values of society.

To begin with, the reading from St. Luke's Gospel, the Beatitudes of Jesus, in the 'children on one father' section of the service, presented a vivid picture of the realised Kingdom.¹³¹ This reading, a shorter version of the Sermon on the Mount than that in Matthew, and addressed primarily to the disciples who realised their poverty in God's sight, challenged the prevailing assumptions of the time.¹³² In contrast to the Old Testament books, such as Deuteronomy and Proverbs, which valued such qualities as material wealth, earthly success and martial spirit,¹³³ we see a vision of a Kingdom in

¹³¹Appendix 4, p. 278.

¹³²William Neil, *One Volume Bible Commentary* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1962), p. 391.

¹³³Deuteronomy 20, 28; Proverbs 22.

which the poor, the hungry and the excluded are blessed and men are encouraged to 'love your enemies'.¹³⁴ Here again, we have what could be interpreted as a challenge to the hedonism and flag-waving of the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Building on the lesson from Luke, Robert Davidson revealed a further glimpse of God's Kingdom in his Act of Dedication in the 'reconciliation and peace' section of the service. Here, in a multi-religious and multi-cultural setting involving children of different faiths representing the future and unity of the world, the concept of war is challenged: 'Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more'.¹³⁵ Instead, through God's love, we have a vision of a world at peace:

May we put our trust in the power of good to overcome evil and the power of love to overcome hatred. We pray for the vision to see and the faith to believe in a world set free from violence, where fear shall no longer lead people to commit injustice, nor selfishness make them to cause suffering to others. Help us to devote our whole life and thought and energy to the task of making peace, praying always for the inspiration and the power to fulfil the destiny for which we are all created.¹³⁶

Indeed, the Moderator asked the congregation to 'declare our belief in the supremacy of love over all

¹³⁴Appendix 4, p. 278.

¹³⁵Appendix 4, p. 280.

¹³⁶Ibid.

relationships' and to 'promise together to accept and fulfil our obligation to make the human family a reality through our service and sacrifice for the common good'.¹³⁷

These sentiments were built on by John Habgood in his sermon. Not only did he argue that, contrary to those who scoffed at the United Nations, the war held out hopes for increased international cooperation, but he offered a vision of the different religions coming together for a higher purpose:

our different faiths impel us all to look beyond immediate political pressures for signs of hope in God. And the signs are there. May God give us the courage to find through them a deeper respect for one another and a more sensitive understanding.¹³⁸

In this sense, the service did embody to a notable extent the transforming quality of ritual. Here again, what we see is not just a modified version of dominant values, but a serious challenge to them.

Overall, then, in a similar fashion to the Falklands service, the national service after the Gulf War did serve largely to challenge the jingoistic sentiments that had been expressed by some commentators during the war.

¹³⁷Appendix 4, p. 281.

¹³⁸Appendix 4, p. 288.

(B) The pastoral function.

Alongside the political function of the ritual, it is necessary to study the national service as a rite of passage in order to judge to what degree it addressed the needs of those who grieved.

Van Gennep's first phase, the 'pre-liminal', can be associated with the work of Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck on feelings of separation during the grief process. Like the national service after the Falklands War, there was much in the service that acknowledged the trauma of separation. In his opening prayer William Morris announced that 'We come to remember with pride our loved ones who gave their lives in war',¹³⁹ and the reading from Romans 8: 35-39 in the 'remembrance' section of the service indicated that whilst we may be separated from those who had died, 'neither death nor life... nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord'.¹⁴⁰ In the 'thanksgiving' section of the service, George Carey thanked God for the families 'who bore the strain and burden of separation' and for 'the faith and fortitude of the bereaved',¹⁴¹ and in his sermon John Habgood stressed that 'We mourn with

¹³⁹Appendix 4, p. 274.

¹⁴⁰Appendix 4, p. 275.

¹⁴¹Appendix 4, p. 277.

those who mourn. And we pray that through the darkness of their grief they may see the light of God's promise that nothing shall ultimately be lost, nothing wasted.'¹⁴² Moreover, the reciting of the lines from Lawrence Binyon's poem 'For the Fallen' - 'Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn. At the going down of the sun and in the morning we will remember them' - and the playing of the 'Last Post', 'The Flowers of the Forest' and the 'Reveille' were poignant symbols of the trauma of separation.¹⁴³ 'The few fleeting seconds of complete and utter silence that followed [the Reveille],' observed *Scotland on Sunday*, 'seemed to be a thousand times more eloquent than the prayers and speeches of the assembled ranks of elaborately-robed clergymen.'¹⁴⁴ The presence of beareaved families was a further vivid reminder of the pain of separation. In the view of Joan McAlpine writing in *The Scotsman*: 'Such private grief was all the more moving when counterpointed with the pomp and ceremony which accompanies such state occasions.'¹⁴⁵ Despite the heartache, it could thus be argued that the service did provide a good deal of comfort to the bereaved in the first stage of the grief process.

¹⁴²Appendix 4, p. 285.

¹⁴³Appendix 4, p. 275.

¹⁴⁴William Paul, 'Nation Mourns the Innocents,' *Scotland on Sunday*, 5 May 1991, p. 1.

¹⁴⁵McAlpine, p. 1.

Van Gennep's second stage is the 'liminal' and here, according Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck, various emotions are experienced - ranging from guilt to confusion to bitterness. Again, like the Falklands service, the service did pay a good deal of attention to these emotions. For those who felt guilt, in the 'children of one father' section of the service Thomas Winning prayed that 'As we sorrow for our sins, renew us in your service'¹⁴⁶ and in the 'reconciliation and peace' section Robert Davidson called upon the congregation to have 'the courage to admit when we are in the wrong; and the grace to repent and ask for forgiveness'.¹⁴⁷ The hymn 'Lift up your hearts' also included the lines:

Above the level of the former years,
The mire of sin, the slough of guilty fears,
The mist of doubt, the blight of love's decay,
O Lord of light, lift all our hearts today!¹⁴⁸

Alongside this, not only did Thomas Winning and John Habgood pray for all the casualties of war, both allied and Iraqi, but in his sermon Habgood's story of Abraham challenging God over the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah reveals that 'in the end guilty and innocent suffer together, and often the innocent more than the guilty.'¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶Appendix 4, p. 278.

¹⁴⁷Appendix 4, p. 283.

¹⁴⁸Appendix 4, p. 281.

¹⁴⁹Appendix 4, p. 286.

For those who felt confusion, in the 'remembrance' section of the service Psalm 121 portrays a vision of the Lord coming to the aid of the troubled, 'From whence does come mine aid? My safety cometh from the Lord, Who heaven and earth hath made',¹⁵⁰ and in the 'thanksgiving' section of the service the reading from Philippians 4: 5-9 included the lines:

Have no anxiety about anything, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known to God. And the peace of God, which passes all understanding, will keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus.¹⁵¹

The hymn, 'Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King of creation' also portrays a picture of the Lord supporting those in distress, 'Shieldeth thee gently from harm, or when fainting sustaineth',¹⁵² and in the 'reconciliation and peace' section the hymn, 'Lift up your hearts!', also gives succour to the anxious: 'Low lie the bounding heart, the teeming brain, Till, sent from God, they mount to God again'.¹⁵³ In his sermon, John Habgood drew attention to those whose mental 'scars may never be fully healed in this life' and addressed their needs through the agony of Abraham as he contemplated God's decision to

¹⁵⁰Appendix 4, p. 275.

¹⁵¹Appendix 4, p. 276.

¹⁵²Appendix 4, p. 277.

¹⁵³Appendix 4, p. 281.

destroy the two cities:

"Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" Behind this question lies, not just hope, but a painful bewildering agonising. What if doing the right thing not merely fails to stem the tide of suffering but actually extends or diverts it?

... Abraham's agonised question echoes through the centuries. Must the hope of justice always be blighted by its frightful cost?

Faith answers, No. Faith that there is a justice in the world's affairs. That there is a Judge of all the earth, should make us humble and self-critical, acutely conscious of our need of God's mercy and forgiveness. But it should also guard against us being too cynical.¹⁵⁴

For those that felt bitterness, in the 'children of one father' section of the service the reading from Luke 6: 20-31 called upon the congregation to 'love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you. And as you wish that men would do to you, so do to them.'¹⁵⁵ In the 'reconciliation and peace' section of the service one of the children reiterated these sentiments: 'love your enemies, and you will be sons of the Most High. Be merciful, even as your Father is merciful.'¹⁵⁶ Moreover, in his sermon John Habgood argued that 'innocent suffering lies at the very heart of Christian faith',¹⁵⁷ but his story of the two cities also illustrated the fact

¹⁵⁴Appendix 4, pp. 285, 287.

¹⁵⁵Appendix 4, p. 278.

¹⁵⁶Appendix 4, p. 280.

¹⁵⁷Appendix 4, p. 288.

that God was prepared to forgive and that the righteousness of ten would be the salvation of many. It could thus be argued that the service did provide the bereaved with a good deal of comfort in the second stage of the grief process.

Furthermore, since the focus of the service was less on thanksgiving for victory and more on the needs of the bereaved, by including much that was important to the 'liminal' stage so, like the Falklands service, the ritual had a good deal of potential to be a vehicle for Turner's ideas of 'communitas'. Again, the spirit of mutual bonding which he saw as vital to the process of transformation would have been aided by the ecumenical and multi-cultural nature of the service, the participation of church leaders with very different political views of the utility of the war, and the fact that the service was broadcast on radio and television across the United Kingdom.

Van Gennep's third phase is 'post-liminal' and, through the work of Murray Parkes, Ainsworth-Smith and Speck, involves the bereaved coming to terms with their grief. Like the Falklands service, there was much in the Gulf service that sought to communicate a vision of hope and new life. To begin with, in his opening prayer William Morris paid tribute to the Lord 'by whose promises in

Christ our despair is transformed into faith',¹⁵⁸ and this was followed in the 'remembrance' section of the service by the hymn, 'O blest communion, fellowship divine', which portrays a comforting image of the dead arriving in heaven:

The golden evening brightens in the west;
Soon, soon to faithful warriors cometh rest;
Sweet is the calm of Paradise the blest;
Alleluia!¹⁵⁹

Building on this image of brightness, in the 'children of one father' section of the service the hymn, 'Be thou my vision, O Lord of my heart', glimpses a time when the Lord shall once again lighten the world with a view of heaven:

High King of Heaven, after victory won,
May I reach heaven's joys, O bright heaven's sun!
Heart of my own heart, whae'er befall,
Still be my vision, O ruler of all.¹⁶⁰

The theme of brightness was also present in the anthem, 'Ye that have spent the silent night', which illustrates God illuminating darkness through his heavenly work:

And as this gloomy night did last
But for a little space;
As heav'nly day, now night is past,
Doth show his pleasant face;
So let us hope, when faith and love

¹⁵⁸Appendix 4, p. 274.

¹⁵⁹Appendix 4, p. 276.

¹⁶⁰Appendix 4, p. 278.

Their work on earth have done,
God's blessed face to see above,
Heaven's better, brighter Sun.¹⁶¹

The notion of a time when grief is reconciled, was also a feature of John Habgood's sermon:

Faith must not disguise or evade the awfulness of war and the atrocities to which it can give birth. But it can look beyond them, beyond the legitimate pride in a task accomplished, beyond the sad mistakes and the unintended consequences. It can look beyond them to the day when our fallible human judgements will give way before the judgement of God, when death will be swallowed up in Christ's victory over the grave, when there will be no more tears, no more sorrow, and when God will be all in all.¹⁶²

Again, it could be argued that the service would have provided considerable comfort to the bereaved during the third stage of the grief process. Indeed, although there were those who were of the opinion that 'the government had borrowed a church and hired a chaplain and was busy doing religion with its friends',¹⁶³ there were others who felt that the service fulfilled a valuable pastoral function. The Moderator, Robert Davidson, thought that there were 'a lot of positive things about it'¹⁶⁴ and the Dean of the Chapel Royal at the time, the Very Rev.

¹⁶¹Appendix 4, p. 279.

¹⁶²Appendix 4, pp. 288-289.

¹⁶³Donald MacLeod, 'A Certain Awkwardness in Giving Thanks,' *The Scotsman*, 6 May 1991, p. 9.

¹⁶⁴The Very Rev. Professor Robert Davidson, taped interview with author, 27 November 1995.

Professor Robin Barbour, agreed:

I did speak to a few of the people who were there, including someone who had lost a member of her family. I got the feeling, as I have on other occasions, that a service of this kind can be a real occasion of release from pent-up emotions of sorrow and anger, not just on an individual level but in the frame of what I might call the 'stance of a whole society' on matters of right and wrong, life and death. A public occasion of this kind has a healing function, for society as a whole, if it can bring together different denominations and also different religions, as this one did, in a unified act.¹⁶⁵

Having examined both the political and pastoral functions of the ritual, we can see that there was a degree of tension between the two in the national service after the Gulf War. At the end of the war once again the Scots had reason to grieve and the national service had the potential to comfort the bereaved. Yet, whilst the political function of the ritual was evident (especially in its interactionist aspect but also to some degree in its functionalist aspect on this occasion), like the national service after the Falklands War, the pastoral function was again dominant and in this respect it can be argued that the Church (although once more in a strictly ecumenical sense) had to a greater extent met the needs of the Scottish people.

¹⁶⁵The Very Rev. Professor Robin Barbour, letter to the author, 13 February 1996.

7. CONCLUSION

As we have seen, after the four major wars that have been studied – the First World War, the Second World War, the Falklands War and the Gulf War – the Scottish people were united in a bond of bereavement as they grieved for their dead and the national services of thanksgiving and remembrance had the potential to ease the burden of the bereaved and assist in the grieving process.

In the national service after the First World War, the political function of the ritual was dominant (especially its functionalist aspect), rather than the pastoral function, and thus the service was unable to give much consolation to the bereaved during the grief process. In the service after the Second World War, the pastoral function was certainly more in evidence, but the political function of the ritual was again prevalent (although on this occasion the functionalist aspect was less strident and the interactionist aspect more apparent) and thus the service once more was unable to provide as much consolation to the bereaved as it might have done.

In the service after the Falklands War, however, although the political function of the ritual was still present (especially in its interactionist aspect), the pastoral function was now dominant and thus the service was able to give a good deal more comfort to the

bereaved than before. Finally, in the service after the Gulf War, whilst the political function was still in evidence (especially in its interactionist aspect but also to some degree in its functionalist aspect on this occasion), the pastoral function was again prevalent and thus the service was once more able to provide a good deal of consolation for the bereaved.

In this sense, then, it can be seen that the national services have increasingly come to meet the needs of the Scottish people.

In seeking to explain why the pastoral function of the services became dominant, several observations can be made. Firstly, in the period between the end of the First World War and the Gulf War, the rituals of remembrance, notably Armistice Day and then Remembrance Sunday, have increasingly moved away from jingoistic concerns and instead have acted as a focus for the cause of peace and, on some occasions, as a forum for social questioning and political dissent. Thus the trend has been away from the most strident political functions of the ritual.

Secondly, whilst the public and the Church were largely united in their jingoistic response to the First and Second World Wars, during the Falklands and Gulf Wars, there were many who were prepared to challenge the justice of these wars. Here then we see a reluctance to

adopt a strident political line during the conflicts.

Thirdly, whilst the services after the First and Second World Wars were planned and conducted by Church leaders who broadly shared the jingoistic response of the public to these wars, the services after the Falklands and Gulf Wars included the participation of Church leaders in an ecumenical setting who openly questioned the justice of these wars. Here then we see a refusal to allow the most strident political functions of the ritual to dominate the services.

Overall, the most strident political functions of the ritual have been downplayed and the pastoral functions of the ritual emphasised. In short, the Church has played a more prophetic and caring role.

Linked to this, the thesis raises several important issues. To begin with, the thesis goes some way towards illustrating the extent to which the Church has become increasingly independent from the state during the course of the twentieth century. At the time of the First World War the Church was still largely subservient to the needs of the state and espoused a faith that was intimately bound up with concerns of national loyalty. During the course of the century, however, the Church became more willing to speak out on matters of national concern and in so doing became less submissive to the state. This is especially illustrated by the national service after the Falklands War which, with its strongly

pastoral theme, can be argued to mark something of a turning point in Church-state relations.

Furthermore, the thesis provokes several important questions. The first relates to the attitude of the Church to matters of war and peace: does the Church, as the national church, have a duty to support the government of the day in its decision to make war, regardless of the circumstances, or does the Church have a responsibility to adopt a more prophetic role? Clearly, the Church must take into account the views of the elected political leaders, but first and foremost the Church must be guided by the teachings of the Gospel. To this end, the 'Just War' theory offers a set of guidelines (as opposed to justifications) by which Christian principles may be related to questions of war and peace.

The second refers to theological tensions within remembrance services: can prophetic/pastoral themes coexist with properly patriotic attitudes? In all the national services under examination there was a tension between the political and pastoral functions of the ritual. However, whilst it can be argued that a sense of national identity is a positive force, any tendency towards jingoism needs to be guarded against and there must always be a readiness to challenge the prevailing values of the time as well as cater for the spiritual well-being of *all* God's people.

The third is concerned with national and local remembrance services: what is the relationship between the two? In this study the national services have been highlighted and whilst it does not necessarily follow that these were imitated at a local level, through the wide publicity given to the national services, and in later years the broadcasting of them, they do come to represent – whether intentionally or not – the official voice of the Church (whether as a single institution or an ecumenical body) on matters of remembrance and serve as high profile models on which local services could be based. In this respect they are important and worthy of serious analysis.

In the previous chapters of this thesis the point has been made that as those with memories of the two world wars, in particular, die away so there has been an increasing apathy amongst the public for the rituals of remembrance after war, and the attendance at Remembrance Sunday ceremonies seems in decline. The question, therefore, is twofold: should the Church continue to participate in Remembrance Sunday rituals? And, if so, what form should that participation take?

The Church should certainly continue to participate in the Remembrance Sunday ritual. For a start, despite a good deal of apathy, the memory of war continues to be a pressing concern for many people and the Church would be

abrogating its responsibility to society if it did not address the issue of remembrance. What is more, although there is much secularisation, there is evidence of strong residual religious beliefs and thus the Church continues to have a useful role to play in these rituals.¹ Indeed, as we have seen, the participation of the Church can offer a good deal of pastoral comfort to those who continue to suffer from the effects of war. As Alan Wilkinson has argued:

War confronts us with the fact that there are no easy human or Christian answers to life, with its extraordinary mixture of tragedy and comedy, brutality and compassion, rationality and irrationality. It is the greatness of Christianity at its best that it affords no easy answers, but rather points us to the heart of the darkness unflinchingly, enables misery to be transmuted into pain and, by making the darkness tangible, turns the apparent absence of God into a presence, however, paradoxical and elusive that presence has to be, God being God.²

Moreover, it can also help to prevent future wars. As Roger Ruston has stressed:

Remembrance of the twentieth century wars is essential to our mental health – even our spiritual life. The past needs to be remembered because the responsibility for the present needs to be taken. Without remembrance, we are all potential victims. Worse than that, we are all complicit in the next holocaust. We will repeat

¹Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain Since 1995. Believing Without Belonging* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994), pp. 74–5.

²Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: SPCK, 1978), p. 310.

the folly of destruction again and again.³

What form, then, should this participation take? The services that accompany the ceremonies on Remembrance Sunday can usefully be constructed around three principles. Firstly, commemoration of the dead of all wars; secondly, consideration for all those who continue to suffer from the effects of war; and thirdly, a hope for peace and reconciliation. However, we might also consider a number of other ideas. St. Agnes Church in Leeds, for instance, has invited British people who participated in the Second World War to contribute to the service by expressing what the war meant to them personally.⁴ St. Andrew's and St. George's Parish Church in Edinburgh has a joint service each year with a German-speaking Church in which the dead are remembered by former enemies. Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh organised a dialogue about remembrance one year between a German and a British minister. Moreover, each year Duke Street Congregationalist Church in Leith has asked the congregation to dedicate and commit itself to the ideals of peace and justice. Whatever we do, we must appeal to the instinct of the young; for if we want peace, we must first remember the misery of war. In the words of Siegfried Sassoon's poem, *Aftermath*:

³Roger Ruston, 'Memory, Sacrifice and War or How to Cope with Remembrance Day,' *Ploughshare Papers* No. 5 (n.d.), p. 4.

⁴Christian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, 'How to Cope with Remembrance Day,' October 1991, p. 3

Have you forgotten yet?...
For the world's events have rumbled on since
those gagged days,
Like traffic checked awhile at the crossing of
the city ways:
And the haunted gap in your mind has filled with
the thoughts that flow
Like clouds in the lit heaven of life; and you're
a man reprieved to go,
Taking your peaceful share of time, with joy to
spare.
But the past is just the same - and War's a
bloody game...
Have you forgotten yet?
Look down, and swear by the slain of the War that
you'll never forget.

Do you ever stop and ask, 'Is it all going to
happen again?'
Have you forgotten yet?...
Look up, and swear by the green of the spring
that you'll never forget.⁵

⁵Seigfried Sassoon, 'Aftermath' (1919); cited in Harry Potter, 'Remembering We Forget'. Those Doomed, Conscripted, Unvictorious Ones, ' *The Expository Times* 99 (1987-88), p. 5.



St. Giles' Cathedral.



ORDER OF DIVINE SERVICE

ON

THURSDAY, 21ST NOVEMBER 1918,

ATTENDED BY

THEIR MAJESTIES

THE KING AND QUEEN.



ORDER OF DIVINE SERVICE.

Psalm c.

ALL people that on earth do dwell,
Sing to the Lord with cheerful voice.
Him serve with mirth, His praise forth tell,
Come ye before Him and rejoice.

Know that the Lord is God indeed ;
Without our aid He did us make :
We are His flock, He doth us feed,
And for His sheep He doth us take.

O enter then His gates with praise,
Approach with joy His courts unto :
Praise, laud, and bless His name always,
For it is seemly so to do.

For why? the Lord our God is good,
His mercy is for ever sure ;
His truth at all times firmly stood,
And shall from age to age endure.

PRAYER.

The Lord's Prayer.

CALL TO THANKSGIVING.

O GIVE thanks unto the Lord ; for He is
good : for His mercy endureth for ever.

To Him which led His people through
the wilderness : for His mercy endureth
for ever.

And hath redeemed us from our enemies :
for His mercy endureth for ever.

O give thanks unto the God of Heaven :
for His mercy endureth for ever.

*Glory be to the Father, and to the Son,
and to the Holy Ghost, as it was in the
beginning, is now, and ever shall be,
world without end. Amen.*

OLD TESTAMENT LESSON.

1 Chronicles, xxix. 10-13.

BLESSED be Thou, Lord God of Israel
our Father, for ever and ever.

Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and
the power, and the glory, and the victory,
and the majesty : for all that is in the
heaven and in the earth is Thine ; Thine
is the kingdom, O Lord, and Thou art
exalted as Head above all.

Both riches and honour come of Thee,
and Thou reignest over all ; and in Thine
hand is power and might ; and in Thine
hand it is to make great, and to give
strength unto all.

Now therefore, our God, we thank Thee,
and praise Thy glorious name.

Psalm xlv.

GOD is our refuge and our strength,
In straits a present aid ;
Therefore, although the earth remove,
We will not be afraid.

Come, and behold what wondrous works
Have by the Lord been wrought ;
Come, see what desolations
He on the earth hath brought.

Unto the ends of all the earth
Wars into peace He turns :
The bow he breaks, the spear he cuts,
In fire the chariot burns.

Be still, and know that I am God ;
Among the heathen I
Will be exalted ; I on earth
Will be exalted high.

Our God, who is the Lord of Hosts,
Is still upon our side ;
The God of Jacob our refuge
For ever will abide.

NEW TESTAMENT LESSON.

Revelations, xxi. 1-4.

AND I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away ; and there was no more sea.

And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.

And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is

with men, and He will dwell with them, and they shall be His people, and God Himself shall be with them, and be their God.

And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes ; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.

Psalm cxxiv.

Now Israel
May say, and that truly,
If that the Lord
Had not our cause maintain'd ;
If that the Lord
Had not our right sustain'd,
When cruel men
Against us furiously
Rose up in wrath,
To make of us their prey ;

Then certainly
They had devour'd us all,
And swallow'd quick,
For ought that we could deem ;
Such was their rage,
As we might well esteem.
And as fierce floods
Before them all things drown,
So had they brought
Our soul to death quite down.

The raging streams,
With their proud swelling waves,
Had then our soul
O'erwhelmed in the deep.
But bless'd be God,
Who doth us safely keep,
And hath not giv'n
Us for a living prey
Unto their teeth,
And bloody cruelty.

Ev'n as a bird
Out of the fowler's snare
Escapes away,
So is our soul set free :
Broke are their nets,
And thus escaped we.
Therefore our help
Is in the Lord's great name,
Who heav'n and earth
by His great pow'r did frame.

Prayer of Thanksgiving and Commemoration.

Paraphrase lxvi.

How bright these glorious spirits shine !
Whence all their white array ?
How came they to the blissful seats
Of everlasting day ?

Lo ! these are they from suff'rings great,
Who came to realms of light,
And in the blood of Christ have wash'd
Those robes which shine so bright.

Now, with triumphal palms, they stand
Before the throne on high,
And serve the God they love, amidst
The glories of the sky.

His presence fills each heart with joy,
Tunes ev'ry mouth to sing :
By day, by night, the sacred courts
With glad hosannahs ring.

Hunger and thirst are felt no more,
Nor suns with scorching ray ;
God is their sun, whose cheering beams
Diffuse eternal day.

The Lamb which dwells amidst the throne
Shall o'er them still preside ;
Feed them with nourishment divine,
And all their footsteps guide.

'Mong pastures green He'll lead His flock,
Where living streams appear ;
And God the Lord from ev'ry eye
Shall wipe off ev'ry tear.

The Doxology.

PRAISE God, from Whom all blessings flow ;
Praise Him, all creatures here below ;
Praise Him above, ye heavenly host ;
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. AMEN.

THE BENEDICTION.

The National Anthem.

GOD save our gracious King ;
Long live our noble King ;
God save the King !
Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us :
God save the King !

Thy choicest gifts in store
On him be pleased to pour :
Long may he reign !
May he defend our laws,
And ever give us cause
To sing with heart and voice,
God save the King !



A. RITCHIE & SON, PRINTERS AND LITHOGRAPHERS, EDINBURGH.



St Giles' Cathedral

Solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God
for
Victory in Europe

WEDNESDAY, 16th MAY 1945

This is the Lord's doing; it is marvellous in our eyes.



ORDER OF DIVINE SERVICE

Metrical Psalm CXXIV

Now Israel
may say, and that truly,
If that the Lord
had not our cause maintain'd ;
If that the Lord
had not our right sustain'd,
When cruel men
against us furiously
Rose up in wrath,
to make of us their prey ;

Then certainly
they had devour'd us all,
And swallow'd quick,
for ought that we could deem ;
Such was their rage,
as we might well esteem.
And as fierce floods
before them all things drown,
So had they brought
our soul to death quite down.

The raging streams,
with their proud swelling waves,
Had then our soul
o'erwhelmed in the deep.
But bless'd be God,
who doth us safely keep,
And hath not giv'n
us for a living prey
Unto their teeth,
and bloody cruelty.

Ev'n as a bird
out of the fowler's snare
Escapes away,
so is our soul set free :
Broke are their nets,
and thus escaped we.
Therefore our help
is in the Lord's great name,
Who heav'n and earth
by his great pow'r did frame.

Amen.

CALL TO PRAYER

PRAYERS and LORD'S PRAYER

Prose Psalm CXXVI

When the Lord turned again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream.

Then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with singing : then said they among the heathen, The Lord hath done great things for them.

The Lord hath done great things for us ; whereof we are glad.

Turn again our captivity, O Lord, as the streams in the south.

They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.

He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost ;

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be : world without end. Amen.

THE SCRIPTURE READING

The Book of the Prophet Isaiah, chapter xxv, 1-8.

The Book of the Revelation of St John the Divine, chapter xxii, 1-5.

Commemoration of the Fallen

(the Congregation standing)

With proud thanksgiving, a mother for her children,
Britain mourns for her dead across the sea.
Flesh of her flesh they were, spirit of her spirit,
Fallen in the cause of the free.

Solemn the drums thrill : Death august and royal
Sings sorrow up into immortal spheres.
There is music in the midst of desolation
And a glory that shines upon our tears.

They shall grow not old, as we that are left grow old :
Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
We will remember them.

PRAYER OF THANKSGIVING and INTERCESSION

Hymn

God of our fathers, known of old,
Lord of our far-flung battle-line,
Beneath whose awful hand we hold
Dominion over palm and pine—
Lord God of hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget !

The tumult and the shouting dies :
The captains and the kings depart :
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.
Lord God of hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget !

Far-called, our navies melt away ;
On dune and headland sinks the fire :
Lo, all our pomp of yesterday
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre :

Judge of the nations, spare us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget !

If, drunk with sight of power, we loose
Wild tongues that have not Thee in
awe,
Such boastings as the Gentiles use,
Or lesser breeds without the law—
Lord God of hosts, be with us yet,
Lest we forget—lest we forget !

For heathen heart that puts her trust
In reeking tube and iron shard,
All valiant dust that builds on dust,
And, guarding, calls not Thee to
guard,
For frantic boast and foolish word—
Thy mercy on Thy people, Lord !

Amen.

THE ADDRESS

Hymn

Now thank we all our God,
With heart and hands and voices,
Who wondrous things hath done,
In whom His world rejoices,—
Who, from our mothers' arms,
Hath blessed us on our way
With countless gifts of love,
And still is ours to-day.

O may this bounteous God
Through all our life be near us,
With ever-joyful hearts
And blessed peace to cheer us,

And keep us in His grace,
And guide us when perplexed,
And free us from all ills
In this world and the next.

All praise and thanks to God
The Father now be given,
The Son, and Him who reigns
With Them in highest heaven,—
The one, eternal God,
Whom earth and heaven adore ;
For thus it was, is now,
And shall be evermore. Amen.

THE BENEDICTION

The Congregation will remain standing for silent prayer, after which will be sung

The National Anthem

God save our gracious King,
Long live our noble King ;
God save the King !
Send him victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us :
God save the King !

Thy choicest gifts in store
On him be pleased to pour ;
Long may he reign ;
May he defend our laws,
And ever give us cause
To sing with heart and voice,
" God save the King ! " Amen.

After Their Majesties have left the Cathedral, the Congregation are requested to remain in their places until the Lord Provost, Magistrates and Town Council, the College of Justice, the Presbytery of Edinburgh, the University Representatives, and other official processions have retired.

VE National
Thanks giving Service. St. Siles.
Wednesday, 16. May, 1945.

The King and Queen, & Princesses Present.

"History," says Froide in an impressive passage, "is a voice for ever sounding across the centuries the law of right and wrong. Opinions alter, manners change, creeds rise and fall, but the moral law is written upon the tablet of eternity. For every false word & unrighteous deed, for cruelty and oppression, for lust and vanity the price must be paid at last: not always by the chief offenders, but paid by someone. Justice and truth alone endure and live. Injustice and falsehood may be long lived, but doomsday comes at last." We are here today to give humble thanks to Almighty God that ~~in this emergency~~ doomsday has come so soon to that ^{merciless} ~~dead~~ and baleful ~~tyranny~~ tyranny which sought to conquer and enslave the world. It might so easily have been otherwise. The late Leader of the German Reich, who has gone to stand before a more ^{dread} ~~august~~ Assize than any earthly tribunal, boasted that the success of his aggressive adventure would impose upon mankind a new order which would

It would not have required to endure for a thousand years,
endure ^{nor even for fifty, to have extinguished} for a thousand years. ~~Had it endured for~~
~~but a generation, the last lamp of human decency~~
~~would have been extinguished on the earth. Nor can~~
we have any illusions as to the place ^{for ourselves} destined
in that ^{infamous and pitiless} new order. ~~for ourselves, we have indeed~~
~~gone down to lift up our hearts in gratitude to~~
~~God~~ we have ^{by God's mercy} escaped from a terrible fate,
~~and we know how narrow our escape has been~~
Who like us this praise should sing?

The measure of our gratitude will be judged
by the measure of our resolve to ^{dedicate} ~~offer~~ our country
and ourselves anew to ^{God's} service. We are not
our own. We are bought with a price. How
heavy has been that price, many a sad heart
among you knows. There is a blood-mark on
all that we possess. ^{That is surely a sobering reflection.} This is a family gathering.
You have come to this ~~great~~ service from ^{almost} every
part of Scotland. ^{you represent every section of the community, and every phase of our country's life.} For the moment, united ~~as~~
~~Christian men and women~~ in this act of national
thanksgiving, we are all of one heart and
of one mind. Will we carry that sense of
unity, that family feeling, with us as we
return to the workaday world? In ^{peace-time,} ~~other~~
as in war-time, will we continue
~~to be as we prepared~~ to love our country -
this ^{dear} home-land which God has given us -

To love is to give! In the coming days, amid the many changes and
 better than ourselves? ^{problems they must bring, are we prepared,} and, at whatever ^{personal} cost,
 to be our brother's keeper, since we all are one in
 Jesus Christ? The future of this land of ours depends upon
 the unity of its people. That unity will not be
 achieved save through wide spread recognition of
 the ~~fatherhood~~ ^{Fatherhood} of God, ^{and of those human rights and duties which such a faith} "There can be no ^{implies} true
 society without a common belief and a common
 purpose." So said Mazzini nearly a century
 ago. And he added: "Religion ^{represents the principle,} ~~translates~~ ^{and}
~~and politics its application.~~ That is a star by which we
~~define our belief and our purpose. Politics~~
~~directs society toward the realization of the~~
~~belief, and prepares the means whereby the~~
~~purpose can be achieved.~~ We do not, and
^{we have been fighting for freedom of conscience and of speech.}
 cannot, all think alike. It is conviction
 striking against conviction that ignites the
 spark which kindles the flames of truth. ~~And~~
^{the Christian view of}
^{which respects human personality, or}
 No country, which seeks to keep its soul
^{dare muzzle} alive, ~~can~~ ^{or allow the spirit of free} honest controversy, and criticism ~~to~~
~~muzzled or allowed~~ to sink into an ignoble
 stagnation. ~~And~~ ^{And it is part of our international responsibility,} ~~for~~ who think in a generation
 have, through the sacrifice of the flower of our
 race, been redeemed from ~~the power of~~ an
 enemy, ^{determined to trample} ~~who would trample~~ ^{precious} on liberties
 in the dust, ^{to show to others} ~~and~~ ^{men of our house can} how ~~difficult~~ and
 we friends, how ^{they can} disagree ^{and} yet remain
 undivided in spirit, and in purpose.

~~endure for a thousand years. What has recently
been revealed concerning the unspeakable horror
and cruelty of the Nazi concentration camps
leaves little room for illusion as to what
our place in the Hitlerian new order would
have been. By the providence of God we
have escaped from a terrible fate, and
we know how narrow our escape has been.~~

The strain and suspense of the past five
and three-quarter years - the burden of their
anxieties and toil, their ^{dangers} ~~perils~~ and their sorrows -
have been grievous and heavy. As a result,
now that we have emerged into the dawn of
deliverance, we are all conscious of a profound
mental and physical reaction. This is no
time ^{to inflame feeling or to indulge in} ~~to indulge in~~ rhetoric or facile
speech. We all ^{need} ~~require~~ to get ourselves under
control again, ^{and} to acquire ^{a restored} poise of mind.
^{above all, we need} ~~and~~ earnestly to seek the light of the Holy
Spirit as we prepare to face the ^{formidable} tasks that
lie ahead. This especially should be remem-
bered by those ^{of us} who speak where many ^{listen,} ~~hear,~~
and who write what many read. The
thanksgiving of these days cannot blind us

to the fact that though one hideous peril has been
~~averted~~^{averted}, the future is overcast by many shadows.
The Far East remains a grim theatre of war, which
will continue to take its toll of our strength and
endurance. The Continent of Europe, haunted by the
spectres of famine and disease, is in political and
economic chaos, and seething with explosive passions.
These are tragic but heroic times. We have a
great duty to perform, and a great task to fulfil,
who have emerged from this dire struggle with
our ancient constitution, our democratic ^{forms of government,} ~~institutions~~
and our civil and religious freedom unimpaired.
The eyes of the world will be upon us in the
years to come. In large measure the future of
mankind will depend upon the quality of the
British character and the integrity of British
leadership. It is an august responsibility
for our Commonwealth and Empire to be thus
summoned by events to be an instrument of
God's righteousness and justice in a ruined
world like this. Only in humble dependence
upon ~~God~~^{Him}, can we hope to be worthy of our
tremendous obligations.

~~be summoned by events to be an instrument
of God's righteousness and justice in a time
words like this~~

More than five years ago, when things were at their blackest, a certain broadcast message was given to our people which brought them ^{at a time} when they needed it most, a comfort greater perhaps than its speaker ever knew. ~~That~~ ^{The} speaker was our King. Only two days ago a soldier, ^{referring} ~~speaking~~ to that broadcast, told me how ^{on many occasions} he had remembered its words as he literally had to go out into the darkness, anxiously thinking of his dear ones, and himself facing jeopardy and death. "And I know," he added, "the help they were to others as well as ^{to} myself." ^{None of us has forgotten} ~~but all remember~~ ^{but} ~~the conclusion of~~ that message; let us listen ^{closing words} ^{now,} to it again, as our season of thanksgiving ends, and ^{as} we depart, each on our own way, each to ^{our} ~~his~~ own duties: "I said to the man who stood at the gate of the year: Give me a light that I may tread safely into the unknown. And he replied: Go out into the darkness, and put thine hand into the Hand of God. That shall be to thee better than a light, and safer than a known way.

ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL



THE
FALKLAND ISLANDS
SERVICE

Monday 26 July 1982

11 a.m.



*The Congregation are asked to stand for the Ecclesiastical
Processions, and for each of the Royal Processions.*

ORDER OF SERVICE

At 10.40 the Dean and Chapter together with the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury leave the Dean's Aisle and move in procession to the West Door of the Cathedral.

At 10.40 the Cathedral Choir, the College of Minor Canons, the visiting clergy, the Prebendaries and other church dignitaries proceed from the Dean's Aisle to their places in Quire.

At 10.43 the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs arrive at the Cathedral and are received at the West Door by the Dean and Chapter together with the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

At 10.45 the Members of the Royal Family are received at the West Door by the Dean and Chapter together with the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and are then conducted to the Chapel of St Michael and St George.

At 10.53 the Members of the Royal Family leave the Chapel of St Michael and St George and move in procession to their seats under the Dome.

At 10.54 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother is received at the West Door by the Dean and Chapter together with the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

At 10.56 Her Majesty The Queen arrives at the Cathedral. Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh are received at the foot of the steps by the Lord Mayor, who, bearing the Pearl Sword, precedes Her Majesty and His Royal Highness and those in attendance to the West Door of the Cathedral.

Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh are received at the West Door by the Dean and Chapter together with the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Her Majesty's Procession then passes through the Nave, and Their Majesties and His Royal Highness are conducted to their seats under the Dome.

THANKSGIVING

When Their Majesties and His Royal Highness have taken their places, all join in singing

HYMN

365 (AMR)

PRAISE, my soul, the King of heaven,
To his feet thy tribute bring;
Ransomed, healed, restored, forgiven,
Who like me his praise should sing?
Alleluia! Alleluia!
Praise the everlasting King.

Praise him for his grace and favour
To our fathers in distress;
Praise him still the same as ever,
Slow to chide, and swift to bless :
Alleluia! Alleluia!
Glorious in his faithfulness.

Father-like, he tends and spares us,
Well our feeble frame he knows;
In his hands he gently bears us,
Rescues us from all our foes;
Alleluia! Alleluia!
Widely as his mercy flows.

Angels, help us to adore him;
Ye behold him face to face;
Sun and moon, bow down before him,
Dwellers all in time and space :
Alleluia! Alleluia!
Praise with us the God of grace.

Words HENRY FRANCIS LYTE
(1793—1847)

Music Praise my soul
JOHN GOSS (1800—1880)
Organist of St Paul's, 1838—1872

The congregation remain standing for

THE BIDDING

by

THE VERY REVEREND ALAN WEBSTER,

Dean of St Paul's

WE meet to worship God. We thank him for the cessation of hostilities in the South Atlantic and for the courage, determination and endurance of those who took part, and for the safe return of so many.

We remember the fallen and commend them to God's keeping. May he work in them the good purpose of his perfect will. We pray for the wounded and all who care for them. We seek to share the sufferings of those who mourn, and pray that God may strengthen them now and in the years ahead.

We pray for reconstruction in the Falkland Islands and for the reunion of divided families. We pray for peace and reconciliation in the South Atlantic. Let this service unite us, strengthen our spirit and sustain our hopes so that we commit ourselves to be makers of peace in a divided world.

Then the Chaplain of the Fleet THE VENERABLE RAYMOND ROBERTS, Q.H.C., M.A. shall lead the congregation in prayers of thanksgiving, saying

Let us pray

LET us thank God for his goodness and his mercy; and as we remember with gratitude all acts of bravery and compassion, let us say together the General Thanksgiving.

All say together

ALMIGHTY God, Father of all mercies, we your unworthy servants give you most humble and hearty thanks for all your goodness and loving kindness to us and to all men. We bless you for our creation, preservation, and all the blessings of this life; but above all for your immeasurable love in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ, for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory. And give us, we pray, such a sense of all your mercies that our hearts may be unfeignedly thankful, and that we show forth your praise, not only with our lips but in our lives, by giving up ourselves to your service, and by walking before you in holiness and righteousness all our days; through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with you and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

The congregation stand to sing

HYMN

3 (HHT)

ALL my hope on God is founded;
He doth still my trust renew.
Me through change and chance he guideth,
Only good and only true.
God unknown,
He alone
Calls my heart to be his own.

Pride of man and earthly glory,
Sword and crown betray his trust;
What with care and toil he buildeth,
Tower and temple, fall to dust.
But God's power,
Hour by hour,
Is my temple and my tower.

God's great goodness aye endureth,
Deep his wisdom, passing thought :
Splendour, light and life attend him.
Beauty springeth out of nought.
Evermore
From his store
New-born worlds rise and adore.

Daily doth th' Almighty Giver
Bounteous gifts on us bestow;
His desire our soul delighteth,
Pleasure leads us where we go.
Love doth stand
At his hand;
Joy doth wait on his command.

Still from man to God eternal
Sacrifice of praise be done,
High above all praises praising
For the gifts of Christ his Son.
Christ doth call
One and all :
Ye who follow shall not fall.

Words ROBERT BRIDGES (1844—1930)
based on the German of J. NEANDER
(1650—80)

Music HERBERT HOWELLS
(Born 1892)

All sit for

THE FIRST LESSON

read by

Mrs ROSALIND GOODFELLOW J.P.

Moderator of the United Reformed Church

IT shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised up above the hills; and peoples shall flow to it, and many nations shall come, and say: "Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob; that he may teach us his ways and we may walk in his paths." For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. He shall judge between many peoples, and shall decide for strong nations afar off; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more; but they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree, and none shall make them afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of hosts has spoken.

Micah 4. 1—4

REMEMBRANCE

A member of the Task Force says

REMEMBER before God those who died in the conflict.

"The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms."

Deuteronomy 33. 27

The congregation stand to sing

HYMN

272 first tune (4MR)

LET saints on earth in concert sing
With those whose work is done;
For all the servants of our King
In heaven and earth are one.

One family, we dwell in him,
One Church, above, beneath;
Though now divided by the stream,
The narrow stream of death.

One army of the living God,
To his command we bow:
Part of the host have crossed the flood,
And part are crossing now.

E'en now to their eternal home
There pass some spirits blest;
While others to the margin come,
Waiting their call to rest.

Jesu, be thou our constant guide;
Then, when the word is given,
Bid Jordan's narrow stream divide,
And bring us safe to heaven.

Words C. WESLEY & others

Music Dundee
Psalms (Edinburgh, 1615)

All sit for

THE SECOND LESSON

read by

THE REVEREND DAVID COOPER, A.K.C., C.F.

Chaplain, the Second Battalion, The Parachute Regiment

SEEING the crowds, he went up on the mountain, and when he sat down his disciples came to him. And he opened his mouth and taught them, saying: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are those who mourn, for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for they shall be satisfied. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God. Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God. Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account. Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven, for so men persecuted the prophets who were before you."

Matthew 5. 1—12

Then follows

THE ANTHEM

AND I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea. And I John saw the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a great voice out of heaven saying, Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and God himself shall be with them, and be their God. And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.

Words Revelation 21. 1—4

Music EDGAR BAINTON (1880—1956)

The congregation remain seated for

THE SERMON

by

THE MOST REVEREND AND RIGHT HONOURABLE
ROBERT RUNCIE, M.C., M.A., D.D., ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND AND METROPOLITAN

THE PRAYERS

FOR THE WOUNDED *written and led by*

THE RIGHT REVEREND PROFESSOR JOHN MCINTYRE, D.D., D.Litt.,
Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland

Let us pray

O CHRIST, our Master and Redeemer, you were wounded for the salvation of all mankind, your body broken for the peace of the world. Hear us, therefore, as now we commend to your loving care all who have been wounded in body, mind or spirit in recent conflict: the blind, the maimed and disabled, the mentally distraught, all for whom life will never now be the same. Grant them healing of body and mind, strengthening of spirit and confidence, and whatever the future holds for them, the encouragement of good companionship and of understanding love, for your dear sake. *Amen.*

FOR REMEMBRANCE *written and led by*

CARDINAL BASIL HUME
Archbishop of Westminster

LORD, our God, you guide your creation with fatherly care. Your will is to gather all peoples as one family in yourself. Banish violence from our midst and wipe away our tears, so that we may not only be called your sons and daughters, but live as true brothers and sisters in Christ your Son.

GOD our Father, in whom the dead find life, listen we beseech you to our prayers. Grant that all who have fallen in battle may find in you the peace that this world cannot give, and enjoy eternal life.

God our Father, you know how saddened we are by the death of those for whom our love is great. We ask you to comfort and console those who mourn and grieve.

We make our prayer through Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

All stand for the sounding of

THE LAST POST

Silence is kept for two minutes

Then follows

REVEILLE

PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

A member of the Task Force says

JESUS said: "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you; not as the world gives do I give to you. Let not your hearts be troubled, neither let them be afraid."

John 14. 27

All join in singing

METRICAL PSALM 23

THE Lord's my Shepherd, I'll not want;
He makes me down to lie
In pastures green; he leadeth me,
The quiet waters by.

My soul he doth restore again
And me to walk doth make
Within the paths of righteousness,
E'en for his own name's sake.

Yea, though I walk in death's dark vale,
Yet will I fear none ill;
For thou art with me, and thy rod
And staff me comfort still.

My table thou hast furnished
In presence of my foes;
My head thou dost with oil anoint,
And my cup overflows.

Goodness and mercy all my life
Shall surely follow me :
And in God's house for evermore
My dwelling-place shall be.

Words Scottish Psalter, 1650

Music Crimond
J. S. IRVINE 1836—1887)

The congregation sit for

THE THIRD LESSON

read by

THE REVEREND DR. DOUGLAS WEBSTER,
Canon in Residence

THEREFORE, putting away falsehood, let every one speak the truth with his neighbour, for we are members one of another. Be angry but do not sin; do not let the sun go down on your anger, and give no opportunity to the devil. Let the thief no longer steal, but rather let him labour, doing honest work with his hands, so that he may be able to give to those in need. Let no evil talk come out of your mouths, but only such as is good for edifying, as fits the occasion, that it may impart grace to those who hear. And do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God, in whom you were sealed for the day of redemption. Let all bitterness and wrath and anger and clamour and slander be put away from you, with all malice, and be kind to one another, tenderhearted, forgiving one another, as God in Christ forgave you.

Ephesians 4. 25—end

THE PRAYERS

CONFESSION AND ABSOLUTION *led by*

THE RIGHT REVEREND AND RIGHT HONOURABLE GRAHAM LEONARD, M.A., D.D.,
Lord Bishop of London

LET us confess our sins, in penitence and faith, firmly resolved to keep God's commandments and to live in love and peace with all men.

All say together

ALMIGHTY God, our heavenly Father, we have sinned against you and against our fellow men, in thought and word and deed, through negligence, through weakness, through our own deliberate fault. We are truly sorry, and repent of all our sins. For the sake of your Son Jesus Christ, who died for us, forgive us all that is past; and grant that we may serve you in newness of life to the glory of your name. Amen.

The Bishop says

ALmighty God, who forgives all who truly repent, have mercy upon you, pardon and deliver you from all your sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness, and keep you in life eternal; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

FOR PEACE *written and led by*

THE REVEREND KENNETH GREET, D.D.,

Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council

GOD our Father, we praise you for the gospel of reconciliation. We thank you for the work of the Holy Spirit drawing the scattered flock of Christ into a deeper unity. May this be a sign of hope to our divided world. Enable us, who bear your Name, to be instruments of your peace and ever to believe that the peace for which we pray is possible; through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

GOD of all nations, we thank you for the concern for peace which grows in the hearts and minds of ordinary people the world over. Use that concern to create the structures of peace and a new atmosphere of cooperation. Help us to identify the common enemies of all mankind and to work together for the eradication of poverty, hunger and disease. Give us the will to build defences against these instead of against each other; for the sake of Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*

ETERNAL God, as the rainbow spans the heavens when the clouds are dark, so our strifes and enmities stand under the judgement of your over-arching love and righteousness. We thank you for those who were in former times our enemies, but are now our friends. Grant that the work of reconciliation may now bring lasting peace to the South Atlantic, and justice and security for all the peoples of the earth; for Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

Let us say the Lord's Prayer together

OUR Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy Name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done; on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, The power, and the glory, For ever and ever. *Amen.*

Then, all kneeling, the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY pronounces

THE BLESSING

All stand to sing

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

GOD save our gracious Queen,
Long live our noble Queen,
God save the Queen!
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us;
God save the Queen!

Thy choicest gifts in store
On her be pleased to pour,
Long may she reign.
May she defend our laws,
And ever give us cause
To sing with heart and voice
God save the Queen!

Arr. GORDON JACOB (1895—1982)

Then the Dean and Chapter with the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury conduct Her Majesty The Queen, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth The Queen Mother, His Royal Highness The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh, and other members of the Royal Family to the West Door. The Lord Mayor, bearing the Pearl Sword, precedes Her Majesty The Queen.

The Cathedral Choir, the College of Minor Canons, the visiting clergy, the Prebendaries and other church dignitaries proceed from the Quire, and return to the Dean's Aisle.

Members of the congregation are asked to remain in their places until it is indicated by the ushers that they are free to depart.

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The Falkland Islands



THE FIRST NOTE in this service¹ is thanksgiving. We began with particular thanksgiving for the courage and endurance of those who fought in the South Atlantic and that is where my sermon starts.

What I have heard about the conduct of the British forces in and around the Falkland Islands has moved and heartened me. I have experienced battle myself and know that it is no mean achievement to preserve the restraint and display the courage shown by so many involved in this conflict. I was particularly impressed by the report of one journalist who admitted that he had started the campaign with a fairly standard stereotyped view of the forces – effete officers leading unreflective men. He was converted by the Falklands experience and returned with a deep respect for those who had fought bravely, without turning into ‘automata’. He was moved by the mature way in which grief was openly expressed over the loss of comrades and admired the lack of rancour shown in attitudes towards the enemy. Another eye-witness has described to me the determination shown at every level to achieve objectives with the minimum use of force. At the hard-fought battle of Goose Green the reaction was not the conquerors’ triumph, but ‘thank God it’s stopped’. It is right to be proud of such men.

There is much to give thanks for in all this now that the attempt to settle the future of the Falkland Islanders by armed invasion has been thwarted, but the men who served in this campaign would be the first to say that while we are paying tribute to the armed forces we should not forget the perseverance and courage of those who have been defending the lives and laws of the citizens of this country in Northern Ireland over a number of years.

¹ Sermon at the Falkland Islands Service, St Paul’s Cathedral, 26 July 1982

While giving thanks, however, we also mourn for grievous losses. Thank God so many returned, but there are many in this cathedral who mourn the loss of someone they love and our thoughts go out to them. We must not forget: our prayers for remembrance will not end this day. They remind us that we possess the terrifying power for destruction. War has always been detestable, but since 1945 we have lived with the capacity to destroy the whole of humankind. It is impossible to be a Christian and not to long for peace. 'Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the sons of God.' This was one of the themes to which the Pope repeatedly returned during his visit to this country. His speech in Coventry was particularly memorable when he said: 'War should belong to the tragic past, to history. It should find no place on humanity's agenda for the future.'

I do not believe that there would be many people, if any, in this cathedral who would not say amen to that. War is a sign of human failure and everything we say and do in this service must be in that context. The problem is that war belongs to the tragic present as well as to the tragic past. At the beginning of this century, in a noble book, *The Great Illusion*, by Norman Angell, the irrational character of war in a modern world was precisely described. The thesis is that in a world of economic interdependence you cannot injure another state without damaging your own interests. We flourish and become prosperous, not by raiding and pauperizing our neighbours, but by building them up as ever better markets for our manufactures.

Yet war, demonstrably irrational and intolerable, has left a terrible mark on this century. It has claimed tens of millions of victims and even now occupies some of the best talents and resources of the nations. The great nations continue to channel their energies into perfecting weapons of destruction and very little is done to halt the international trade in arms, which contributes so much to the insecurity of the world. In the most heavily armed area, the Middle East, every day seems to bring fresh bad news of man's willingness to resort to the irrational and the intolerable in pursuit of his territorial and ideological ambitions. Angell was writing at the end of a period of relative peace. We

cannot be even as sanguine about the human future as he was. Our hope as Christians is not fundamentally in man's naked goodwill and rationality. We believe that he can overcome the deadly selfishness of class or sect or race by discovering himself as a child of the universal God of love. When a man realizes that he is a beloved child of the Creator of all, then he is ready to see his neighbours in the world as brothers and sisters. That is one reason why those who dare to interpret God's will must never claim him as an asset for one nation or group rather than another. War springs from the love and loyalty which should be offered to God being applied to some God-substitute, one of the most dangerous being nationalism.

This is a dangerous world where evil is at work nourishing the mindless brutality which killed and maimed so many in this city last week. Sometimes, with the greatest reluctance, force is necessary to hold back the chaos which injustice and the irrational element in man threaten to make of the world. But having said that, all is not lost and there is hope. Even in the failure of war there are springs of hope. In that great war play by Shakespeare, Henry V says: 'There is some soul of goodness in things evil, would men observingly distill it out.' People are mourning on both sides of this conflict. In our prayers we shall quite rightly remember those who are bereaved in our own country and the relations of the young Argentinian soldiers who were killed. Common sorrow could do something to reunite those who were engaged in this struggle. A shared anguish can be a bridge of reconciliation. Our neighbours are indeed like us.

I have had an avalanche of letters and advice about this service. Some correspondents have asked 'why drag God in?' as if the intention was to wheel up God to endorse some particular policy or attitude rather than another. The purpose of prayer and of services like this is very different and there is hope for the world in the difference. In our prayers we come into the presence of the living God. We come with our very human emotions, pride in achievement and courage, grief at loss and waste. We come as we are and not just mouthing opinions and thanksgiving which the fashion of the moment judges acceptable. As we pour into

our prayer our mourning, our pride, our shame and our convictions, which will inevitably differ from person to person, if we are really present and really reaching out to God and not just demanding his endorsement, then God is able to work upon us. He is able to deepen and enlarge our compassion and to purify our thanksgiving. The parent who comes mourning the loss of a son may find here consolation, but also a spirit which enlarges our compassion to include all those Argentinian parents who have lost sons.

Man without God finds it difficult to achieve this revolution inside himself. But talk of peace and reconciliation is just fanciful and theoretical unless we are prepared to undergo such a revolution. Many of the reports I have heard about the troops engaged in this war refer to moments when soldiers have been brought face to face with what is fundamental in life and have found new sources of strength and compassion even in the midst of conflict. Ironically, it has sometimes been those spectators who remained at home, whether supporters or opponents of the conflict, who continue to be most violent in their attitudes and untouched in their deepest selves.

Man without God is less than man. In meeting God, a man is shown his failures and his lack of integrity, but he is also given strength to turn more and more of his life and actions into love and compassion for other men like himself. It is necessary to the continuance of life on this planet that more and more people make this discovery. We have been given the choice. Man possesses the power to obliterate himself, sacrificing the whole race on the altar of some God-substitute. Or he can choose life in partnership with God the Father of all. I believe that there is evidence that more and more people are waking up to the realization that this crucial decision peers us in the face here and now.

Cathedrals and churches are always places into which we bring human experiences – birth, marriage, death, our flickering communion with God, our fragile relationships with each other, so that they may be deepened and directed by the spirit of Christ. Today we bring our mixture of thanksgiving, sorrows and aspirations for a better ordering of this world. Pray God that he may purify, enlarge and redirect these in the ways of his kingdom of love and peace. Amen.

ST MUNGO'S CATHEDRAL
GLASGOW



THE GULF SERVICE OF
REMEMBRANCE
AND
THANKSGIVING

For

The Very Revd. William J. Morris, DD
94 St. Andrew's Drive, Glasgow G41 4RX
Tel: 041-427 2757

with best wishes

Saturday, 4th May 1991

12 Noon

The Congregation are asked to stand for the Ecclesiastical
Processions, and for each of the Royal Processions.

The Band of the Scots Guards, conducted by Major D E Price psm, Director of Music will play:

Before the Service:

- Salute d'AmourElgar
- Moonlight Sonata Beethoven
- Oboe Concerto Corelli
- Sheep May Safely Graze Bach
- Creation Hymn Beethoven
- Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring Bach
- Rosamunde Schubert

After the Service:

- Standard of St George Alford
- Trumpet Tune and Air Purcell
- Fame and Glory Matt
- Karelia Suite Sibelius
- Procession of the Nobles Rimsky-Korsakov
- Things to Come Bliss

The Cathedral Organist will play:

Before the Service:

- Siciliana – Minuet – March Handel

After the Service:

- Marcia Widor

As the Royal Procession moves through the Nave to the Quire the Cathedral Choir will sing:

- Above all praise and all Majesty, Lord,
Thou reignest evermore. Hallelujah! Amen Mendelssohn

Pipe Major: Pipe Major B J Hitchins, Queens Own Highlanders

Last Post and Reveille will be sounded by a Royal Marine Bugler from the Band of the Flag Officer Scotland and Northern Ireland.

The fanfares for the Royal entrance and the National Anthem will be played by the Fanfare Trumpeters of the Royal Air Force Music Services.

ORDER OF SERVICE

At 11.50 The Prime Minister, The Secretary of State for Scotland, The Secretary of State for Defence, The Chief of the Defence Staff, Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir David Craig, Air Chief Marshal Sir Patrick Hine, and General Sir Peter de la Billiere gather in the Nave near the West Door.

At 11.55 Her Majesty The Queen arrives at the Cathedral. Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh are received at the steps by The Lord Provost of Glasgow who will present The Minister of the Cathedral.

The Prime Minister, The Secretary of State for Scotland, The Secretary of State for Defence, The Chief of the Defence Staff, Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir David Craig, Air Chief Marshal Sir Patrick Hine and General Sir Peter de la Billiere are presented to Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh in the Nave at the West Door, before moving down the aisle to their places in the Choir.

The procession of the clergy will move to their places in the Chancel. The Minister of the Cathedral will conduct Her Majesty and His Royal Highness to their seats in the Choir.

When Her Majesty and His Royal Highness have taken their places, a fanfare is sounded and all sing:

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

God save our gracious Queen,
Long live our noble Queen.
God save the Queen!
Send her victorious,
Happy and glorious,
Long to reign over us:
God save the Queen!

Not on this land alone -
But be God's mercies known
From shore to shore.
Lord, make the nations see
That men should brothers be,
And form one family,
the wide world o'er.

The congregation sit for the Minister to say:

A PRAYER

"... no men are strange, no countries foreign,
Beneath all uniforms a single body breaths, Like ours . . ."

We come, Lord of all, to worship thee, by whose promises in Christ our despair is transformed into faith, by whose grace in him our sins are forgiven, and by whose Holy Spirit those from whom we are separated become our friends.

We come to remember with pride our loved ones who gave their lives in war. We come also in sadness and in sorrow because the choice we deemed necessary cost many other lives also, among our friends and especially among those whose aggression we resisted.

We are here to give thanks for all who risked their lives for those values which we believe to be right. We give thee thanks that by their training and commitment, that warfare was accomplished without greater loss of life.

Thou thyself the wise and loving Father hast allowed pain and death, suffering and sorrow, and to have their place in our human life. Help us to accept our share of responsibility for the tears of thy family of mankind in which "no men are foreign, and no countries strange" through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Let us say together the words that Jesus taught his disciples:

Our Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy Name: thy Kingdom come: thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil. For thine is the Kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever
Amen

REMEMBRANCE

The congregation remain seated for the First Lesson read by the Reverend Dafydd Owen, Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council for Wales:

Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?

No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through him who loved us. For I am sure that neither death nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Romans 8. 35–39

All stand to sing the Psalm:

I to the hills will lift mine eyes.
From whence doth come mine aid:
My safety cometh from the Lord,
Who heaven and earth hath made.

Thy foot he'll not let slide, nor will
He slumber that thee keeps.
Behold, he that keeps Israel,
he slumbers not nor sleeps.

The Lord thee keeps, the Lord thy shade
On thy right hand doth stay:
The moon by night thee shall not smite
nor yet the sun by day.

The Lord shall keep thy soul; he shall
Preserve thee from all ill.
Henceforth thy going out and in
God keep for ever will.

French (Dundee)
Scottish Psalter, 1615

Psalm 121
Scottish Psalter, 1650

The congregation remain standing for the Dean of the Chapel Royal in Scotland to begin the Act of Remembrance:

'Age shall not weary them, nor the years condemn.
At the going down of the sun and in the morning
We will remember them.'

A bugler sounds the:

LAST POST

A pipe plays:

A LAMENT

A breath is laid in the chancel.

A bugler sounds:

REVEILLE

The congregation sit for the Dean to say:

A PRAYER OF COMMEMORATION

O Almighty Lord, you have promised to prepare a place for those who love you: we give you thanks for all your faithful servants, but especially this day for those who laid down their lives for us. Let the memory of their sacrifice be always an example to us, so that we take up our cross and follow you, the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and with them rise to a new level of life with you; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit be glory and dominion forever.

All stand to sing the Hymn:

O blest communion, fellowship divine!
We feebly struggle, they in glory shine;
Yet all are one in thee, for all are thine:
Alleluia!

And when the strife is fierce, the warfare long
Steals on the ear the distant triumph song,
And hearts are brave again, and arms are strong:
Alleluia!

The golden evening brightens in the west.
Soon, soon to faithful warriors cometh rest;
Sweet is the calm of Paradise the blest:
Alleluia!

Sine Nomine
Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–1958)

William Walsham How
(1823–1897)

THANKSGIVING

All sit for the Second lesson read by Flight Lieutenant J Peters RAF:

Rejoice in the Lord always; again I will say, Rejoice. Let all men know your forbearance. The Lord is at hand. Have no anxiety about anything, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known to God. And the peace of God, which passes all understanding, will keep your hearts and minds in Christ Jesus.

Finally, brethren, whatever is true, whatever is honourable, whatever is just, whatever is pure, whatever is lovely, whatever is gracious, if there is any excellence, if there is anything worthy of praise, think about these things. What you have learned and received and heard and seen in me, do; and the God of peace will be with you.

Philippians 4 5–9

All remain seated for the Prayers of Thanksgiving led by the Most Reverend and Right Honourable George Carey, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan:

Let us offer our thanksgiving to God for the discipline and devotion to duty of sailors, soldiers and airmen in the Gulf conflict, for their resolute acceptance of discomfort, for their courage in facing danger and their self-control in action and in victory. Let us bless the Lord.

All: Thanks be to God

For their families who bore the strain and burden of separation, and in the fear-filled weeks of waiting, those in Gulf Support Groups who brought them comfort and counsel. Let us bless the Lord.

All: Thanks be to God

For doctors, nurses and chaplains; for the Red Cross and the Red Crescent, the Salvation Army and other charitable organisations who ministered to the needs of serving men and women. Let us bless the Lord.

All: Thanks be to God

For our Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth, and her wise and gracious example of faithful service, for her government and the governments of all the countries of the United Nations coalition; and for the commitment, confidence and courage of the leaders of the allied forces. Let us bless the Lord.

All: Thanks be to God

For the restoration of their land to the people of Kuwait, for the ending of hostilities, for the safe return of prisoners, for the courage of those who still bear the scars of war, and for the faith and fortitude of the bereaved. Let us bless the Lord.

All: Thanks be to God

Blessing and glory, thanksgiving and honour be to our God for ever and ever.

All: Amen

All stand to sing the Hymn:

Praise to the Lord, the Almighty, the King of creation;
O my soul, praise him, for he is thy health and salvation
All ye who hear,
Now to his temple draw near,
Joining in glad adoration.

Praise to the Lord, who o'er all things so wondrously reigneth.
Shieldeth thee gently from harm, or when fainting sustaineth;
Hast thou not seen
How thy heart's wishes have been
Granted in what he ordaineth?

Praise to the Lord! O let all that is in me adore him!
All that hath life and breath, come now with praises before him!
Let the Amen
Sound from his people again:
Gladly for aye we adore him.

Lobe den Herren
Praxis Pietatis Melica (1668)

Joachim Neander
(1650–80)

CHILDREN OF ONE FATHER

The congregation sit for the Third Lesson read by the Reverend James Harkness, Chaplain General:

And Jesus lifted up his eyes on his disciples, and said:

"Blessed are you poor, for yours is the kingdom of God.

"Blessed are you that hunger now, for you shall be satisfied

"Blessed are you that weep now, for you shall laugh.

"Blessed are you when men hate you, and when they exclude you and revile you, and cast out your name as evil, on account of the Son of Man!

"But I say to you that hear, love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you.

And as you wish that men would do to you, do so to them."

St Luke 6. 20-31

All remain seated for the Intercessory Prayers led by the Most Reverend Thomas Winning, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow:

Almighty God, Father of all, help us and all nations, we pray, to make our vision of the world as one family of your children a reality. Give living form to our ideas of brotherhood of all people. Guide with your wisdom all who govern any nation.

As we sorrow for our sins, renew us in your service. Turn the hearts of all who have been our enemies to the truth as you have revealed it in Jesus that they and we may know and do your will.

Bless with your comfort all among us, and the people of Iraq and of any countries where war and oppression have left their bitter harvest of pain and illness, injury and loss. Homelessness and hunger.

Help us all in the United Nations, in the world Church and wherever people look to you in faithful prayer for help, to find solutions to our agonising problems, in the suffering of so many, including the Kurdish people, for whom we plead thy compassion. Father hear our prayers for your worldwide family; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

All stand to sing the Hymn:

Be thou my Vision, O Lord of my heart;
Naught be all else to me, save that thou art,
Thou my best thought, by day or by night,
Waking or sleeping, thy presence my light.

Be thou my Wisdom, thou my true Word;
I ever with thee, thou with me, Lord;
Thou my great Father, I thy true son;
Thou in me dwelling, and I with thee one.

High King of Heaven, after victory won,
May I reach heaven's joys, O bright heaven's Sun!
Heart of my own heart, whatever befall,
Still be my Vision, O ruler of all.

Slane
Irish Traditional

Ancient Irish

The congregation sit for:

THE SERMON

by:

*The Most Reverend and Right Honourable John S Habgood.
Archbishop of York, Primate of England and Metropolitan.*

All remain seated for the Choir to sing the Anthem:

Ye that have spent the silent night
In sleep and quiet rest,
And joy to see the cheerful light
That riseth in the east;
Now lift your hearts, your voices raise,
Your morning tribute bring,
And pay a grateful song of praise,
To Heaven's Almighty King.

And as this gloomy night did last
But for a little space;
As heav'nly day, now night is past,
Doth show his pleasant face;
So let us hope, when faith and love
Their work on earth have done,
God's blessed face to see above,
Heaven's better, brighter Sun.

George Dyson

George Gascoigne
(1525–1577)

RECONCILIATION AND PEACE

Children of three faiths enter in procession, Jewish by the centre aisle, Muslim by the south aisle, and Christian by the north aisle, to gather around the Right Reverend Professor Robert Davidson, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, who leads the Act of Dedication.

The Moderator Says:

With these children from this city of different faiths, who represent the generations who will inherit all that we have built and the visions we have failed to realise, we seek the peace, the power, and the love which flow from God.

Hear these words from a Hebrew prophet; read by a Jewish child:

Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, that he may teach us his ways. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

Hear these words of Jesus, read by a Christian child:

If you love those who love you, what credit is that to you? But love your enemies, and you will be sons of the Most High. Be merciful, even as your Father is merciful.

Hear these words from the Qur'an, read by a Muslim child:

The Lord is most generous, who taught man what he knew not. Nay, man is surely intemperate because he looks upon himself as independent. It is thee we serve, and to thee we call for help.

The Moderator says:

Let us pray:

Lord, we pray for the power to be gentle; the strength to be forgiving; the patience to be understanding; and the endurance to accept the consequences of holding to what we believe to be right.

May we put our trust in the power of good to overcome evil and the power of love to overcome hatred. We pray for the vision to see and the faith to believe in a world set free from violence, where fear shall no longer lead people to commit injustice, nor selfishness make them cause suffering to others. Help us to devote our whole life and thought and energy to the task of making peace, praying always for the inspiration and the power to fulfil the destiny for which we all were created.

Amen.

Moderator:

Let us declare our belief in the value of every person of whatever colour or creed.

All:

We promise to increase our efforts to establish justice for all, and to foster peace and reconciliation among all countries.

Moderator:

Let us declare our belief in the supremacy of love in all human relationships.

All:

We promise together to accept and fulfil our obligation to make the human family a reality through our service and sacrifice for the common good.

All remain standing to sing this Hymn:

'Lift up your hearts!' We lift them, Lord, to thee;
Here at thy feet none other may we see:
'Lift up your hearts!' E'en so with one accord,
We lift them up, we lift them to the Lord.

Above the level of the former years,
The mire of sin, the slough of guilty fears,
The mist of doubt, the blight of love's decay,
O Lord of light, lift all our hearts today!

Lift every gift that thou thyself hast given;
Low lies the best till lifted up to heaven:
Low lie the bounding heart, the teeming brain,
Till, sent from God, they mount to God again.

Then, as the trumpet-call, in after years,
'Lift up your hearts!' rings pealing in our ears,
Still shall those hearts respond with full accord,
'We lift them up, we lift them to the Lord!'

Woodlands
Walter Greathouse (1877–1949)

Henry Montagu Butler
(1833–1918)

THE BLESSING

The Service ended, the procession of Clergy will return to the West End of the Church. The Minister will conduct Her Majesty The Queen and His Royal Highness, The Prince Philip, Duke of Edinburgh to the West Door where he will present: The Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, The Archbishop of Canterbury, The Archbishop of York, The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Glasgow, The Dean of the Chapel Royal in Scotland, The Chaplain General, the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council of Wales and Flight Lieutenant J Peters RAF.

Members of the congregation are asked to remain in their places until it is indicated by the ushers that they are free to depart.

CHILDREN OF ONE FATHER

'Turn the hearts of all who have been our enemies to the truth as you have revealed it in Jesus that they may know and do your will. Bless with your comfort those among us, and the people of Iraq and of any countries where war and oppression have left their bitter harvest of pain and illness, injury and loss, homelessness and hunger. Help us all in the United Nations, in the world Church and wherever people look to you in faithful prayer for help, to find solutions to our agonising problems, in the suffering of so many, including the Kurdish people, for whom we plead thy compassion'.

ARCHBISHOP THOMAS WINNING'S VERSION

'Transform the hearts of all men and women that we may come to a deeper knowledge of your will and so be living instruments of your love. Bless with your comfort all among us and the people of Kuwait and of Iraq and of all countries where war and oppression have left their bitter harvest of pain and illness, injury and loss, homelessness and hunger. Today too we pray for the Kurdish people and all the people of the Middle East and all children in need who look to us for compassion and justice. May we not fail them. Help us all in the United Nations in the world church and wherever people look to you in faithful prayer for help, to find solutions to our agonising problems, in the suffering of so many, including the Kurdish people, for whom we plead thy compassion'.

RECONCILIATION AND PEACE

'Lord, we pray for the power to be gentle; the strength to be forgiving; the patience to be understanding; and the endurance to accept the consequences of holding to what we believe to be right'.

PROFESSOR ROBERT DAVIDSON'S VERSION

'Lord, we pray for the power to be gentle; the strength to be forgiving; the patience to be understanding; the endurance to accept the consequences of holding to what we believe to be right; the courage to admit when we are in the wrong; and the grace to repent and ask for forgiveness'.

Embargo:

N.B. The embargo on this text means not only that no direct quotation from it may be made before the embargo expires, but also that no summary of the whole or any part of its contents (preceded by such a phrase as "The Archbishop is expected to say") may be published before 1.00 p.m. on Saturday 4th May 1991
Check on delivery

Sermon by the Archbishop of York, Dr John Habgood
in St Mungo's Cathedral, Glasgow on the occasion of the
Gulf Service of Remembrance and Thanksgiving on
Saturday 4th May 1991

Some words from the Book of Genesis have been haunting me in recent weeks. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

It is a question asked in hope, and in puzzlement. Hope - because the desire to do right, to see justice prevail, to root out wickedness, is not just a human dream, but takes us deep into the heart of God's purpose for his world. It is precisely because there is a Judge of all the earth that our striving for a just and peaceful world is not in the end, we believe, a vain delusion.

It was that hope - no doubt like all human aspirations mixed with other motives as well - it was that hope which led into war to resist aggression.

Today we give thanks for, and remember with pride, those in our armed services who paid the price which it exacted.

Some paid it through death in combat. Some through the tragic errors and accidents which war inevitably entails, particularly a war of such rapid and complex movements. Their deaths, no less than the deaths of those who died fighting, are to be honoured and remembered for their role and purpose in this same striving to do right.

We mourn with those who mourn. And we pray that through the darkness of their grief they may see the light of God's promise that nothing shall ultimately be lost, nothing wasted.

Others have paid the price for this hope of justice through injury, through the disruption of their lives, through the pain of separation and anxiety, and through the experiences of fear and horror and devastation, whose scars may never be fully healed in this life. We give thanks that so many called to serve in the Gulf have returned to us. We give thanks for the training and preparation and bravery which enabled them to perform their tasks with such skill and professionalism. And we give thanks for the policy of restraint which, however tragically it sometimes went wrong, embodied the wish to get the whole wretched business finished with a minimum of death and destruction.

But it is at this point that hope turns to puzzlement - and worse. "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" Behind the question lies, not just hope, but a painful bewildered agonizing. What if doing the right thing not merely fails to stem the tide of suffering but actually extends or diverts it?

We find the question, as I have said, in Genesis in a strange and ancient story about Abraham, the father of faith for Jews and Christians and Moslems alike. Abraham is shown in the story as bargaining with God over the fate of two cities which God has said he will destroy for their wickedness. "But surely", says Abraham, "you are not going to destroy the innocent with the wicked! What if there are fifty righteous people in the city? Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?"

"No", says God, "I won't destroy it for fifty's sake."

"What about forty-five?" says Abraham cajolingly.

"I won't destroy it for forty-five's sake".

"Forty ... thirty ... twenty ...ten".

"No", says God, "I will not destroy it for ten's sake".

Abraham pushes his luck no further. The conversation ends. And the cities are destroyed. It is an extraordinary story.

Perplexities about innocent suffering go right back to the roots of our religious traditions, Jewish, Christian and Moslem. The theme of the story is the counterpoint - the horrific and seemingly inevitable counterpoint - to all our hopes of justice and our fumbling attempts to secure it. In the end guilty and innocent suffer together, and often the innocent more than the guilty.

That is why our solemn act of remembrance today has to go beyond thanksgiving to a sad acknowledgement before God of the appalling suffering which war and its aftermath have actually brought in their train: the losses of human life and the devastation in Iraq itself, still locked into an oppressive and evil dictatorship; the dreadful plight of the Kurds and Shi-ites, innocent victims not just of war itself, but of the false hopes of successful rebellion it raised in their minds; the black clouds over Kuwait, and the oil-sodden Gulf. Who can forget the dying cormorants? And we think of the fearful and intractable political problems which still remain, not least in securing the future for Palestinians and Israelis alike.

How do we measure all these against what has actually been achieved? Abraham's agonized question echoes through the centuries. Must the hope of justice always be blighted by its frightful cost?

Faith answers, No. Faith that there is a justice in the world's affairs, that there is a Judge of all the earth, should make us humble and self-critical, acutely conscious of our need of God's mercy and forgiveness. But it should also guard us against being cynical.

Faith should increase our determination to build on the new hopes of international co-operation which this war has generated. It is easy for critics to scoff at the role played by the United Nations. Isn't it better, isn't it truer to the demands of faith, to keep alive the hope that, despite all the ambiguities, our world can sometimes find ways of uniting around a cause which it believes to be right?

It is easy to feel frustrated and dejected about the political complications in trying to protect the rights of minorities. Isn't it better, isn't it truer to the demands of faith, to rejoice in the fact that something, however little, can actually be done, and is being done, to renew hope among those on the edge of despair?

There were times in the crisis when it looked as though political conflict might easily spill over into religious conflict. Thank God it didn't happen. Christians, Moslems and Jews, both in this country and in the Middle East, wisely refused to let it happen - despite the anguish of conscience many of them were experiencing. Our different faiths impel us all to look beyond immediate political pressures for signs of hope in God. And the signs are there. May God give us the courage to find through them a deeper respect for one another and a more sensitive understanding.

But still the frightful cost in human lives and well-being can seem to mock our fragile hopes. For those of us who are Christians there is only one final answer to Abraham's dilemma. The mystery of innocent suffering lies at the very heart of Christian faith. Abraham could only plead and wonder. Jesus, himself the innocent sufferer in a city he knew was doomed, revealed all suffering as encompassed within the suffering of God.

Faith must not disguise or evade the awfulness of war and the atrocities to which it can give birth. But it can look beyond them, beyond the legitimate pride in a task accomplished, beyond the sad

mistakes and the unintended consequences. It can look beyond them to the day when our fallible human judgements will give way before the judgement of God, when death will be swallowed up in Christ's victory over the grave, when there will be no more tears, no more sorrow, and when God will be all in all.

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